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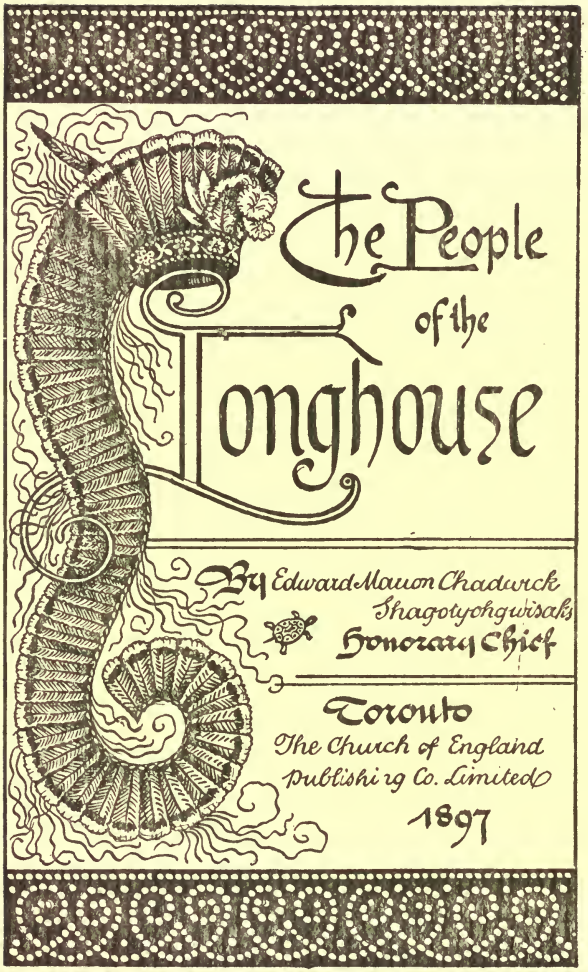
The People of the Longhouse.


The People
of the
Longhouse
By Edward Marion Chadwick
Shagotyohgwisaks
Honorary Chief
Toronto
The Church of England
publishing Co. Limited
1897

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GROUP OF CHIEFS AND WARRIORS—(Who visited Toronto in June, 1897).

From a Photograph by Mr. A. E. S. Thompson, G. G. Body Guard.

1. Chief George Key, Second to Skanadariyoh.
2. Chief William Henry, Dyonwadon.
3. Chief Isaac Hill, Wasehawe.
4. William Bill.
5. Andrew Spragg.
6. William Styres.
7. George Smoke.
8. James Beaver.
9. William Reep, Kenwendeshon.
10. Capt. Merritt, Roronoungowane.
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In preparing this little work I have had assistance from a number of friends to whom my thanks are due, but I wish especially to refer to Capt. E. D. Cameron, Superintendent of the Grand River Reserve; Mr. James Bain, Librarian Toronto Public Library; Chief Josiah Hill, Sakokaryes, and Mr. William Reep, Kenwendeshon, Interpreter, as an acknowledgment of the courtesy which I have received from them and the trouble which they have taken to aid me in procuring information.

E. M. Chadwick.

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PRONUNCIATION OF NAMES.

THE following rules, although neither complete nor precise, will be ordinarily sufficient as a guide to the pronunciation of names in the Huron-Iroquois languages :

1. Vowels are pronounced as, or nearly as, in Italian.

2. D and T, and G and K, are interchangeable.

3. N, when not followed by a vowel, is nasal, as in French ; thus Kanonsionni is pronounced as if written Kanongsiaungnee. Terminal N has a peculiar nasal sound which some writers represent, but inadequately, as 'eh, and others, also inadequately, by the diphthong ea, rendering the first name on the roll of chiefs, properly written Tehkarihoken, as Tehkarihogea.

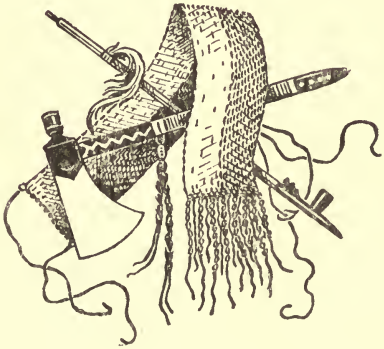
4. When S is followed by H, it is not pronounced as in English, the H merely indicating a slight drawl, which is sometimes represented by placing the H first, as in Ohsweken.

5. Th is pronounced as T in Irish brogue.

The pronunciation of all Indian names, when used geographically, is quite arbitrary. Sometimes the Indian form is retained as nearly as the white tongue can render it. Sometimes the spelling is anglicised, as the township of Tyendinaga, which represents the Mohawk Thayendanegea ; and in other cases it is the pronunciation which becomes anglicised, as the township of Onondaga. The difficulty of laying down any guide for such names may be understood by comparing the name of the village of Nanticoke, which is pronounced in English just as written, with that of the township of Etobicoke, of which the last two

letters are nearly mute, and with Mimico, properly Mimicoke, where the same terminal letters are dropped entirely. Many names of places appear in history with numerous variations, representing the attempts of different persons to reduce Indian sounds to written form. One town in the State of New York is said to be mentioned with over eighty variations in form of the original Indian name.

The ordinary names of the Nations of the Iroquois League are in anglicised form, excepting Onondaga, for which there is no English equivalent, and the name is always pronounced by the Indians, and those familiar with them, as "Ono*ng*dauga."



THE

People of the Longhouse.

UNLIKE most Indian Nations, whose history is generally little more than vague tradition, interesting to few but ethnologists and other scientists, the People of the Longhouse, Iroquois, or Six Nations (fomerly Five Nations), as they are variously termed, possess a reliable history of respectable antiquity and of great interest, the main incidents of which have fortunately been preserved, partly by the traditions and historical wampum belts of the Nations, and partly by writers, especially the Hon. Cadwallader Colden,* David Cusick,† a Tuscarora Indian, and Lewis H. Morgan,‡ a Seneca by adoption, who have also recorded much of their customs and many things of interest. Such things have been in recent times gradually passing out of memory, known only to the

* History of the Five Nations, London, 1750, 1755.

† History of the Six Nations, 1825, 1828, 1848; reprinted in the Iroquois Trail, by W. M. Beauchamp, 1892.

‡ League of the Hodensaunee, or Iroquois, Rochester, N.Y., 1851.

older members of the tribes, who have been discouraged from handing them down to their descendants as they themselves received them from their forefathers. Impressed with the desirability of not only aiding in the preservation of the antiquities, historical and social, of these people, but also of bringing them within easy access of those to whom they may be of interest —for the two most valuable of the works referred to are out of print, and scarcely obtainable— the writer has taken it upon himself to put forth this little work, which neither pretends to be exhaustive nor attempts to deal with the wider subjects of Indian origin, life, and customs generally, as upon those subjects there is much in print, but only with matters immediately concerning the Iroquois, especially such as are little known and seem to him to be worth making better known. From this preliminary explanation it will appear that no especial claim to originality is made by the writer, for much of this work is founded upon the authorities mentioned, supplemented by Horatio Hale's Iroquois Book of Rites, though largely aided by such personal enquiry and observation as the writer has had opportunity of making.

History. ACCORDING to tradition, the Six Nations originally were one people,* occupying the neighbourhood of Montreal, and subject to the domination of the Adirondacks, a powerful and war-like Algonquin Nation, with whom, however, in course of time disputes arose, resulting in a revolt of the Iroquois, who were then driven from their homes, and, migrating southward and westward, divided into bands which prospered greatly and became the Five Nations by whom the famous League was formed, and who, having learned the art of war from their conquerors, and having, by their confederacy, combined and consolidated their resources, became the dominant power from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from the Southern States to the interior of Ontario. The confederacy was formed about the year 1459† (Temp. Henry VI.), chiefly through the statesman-like skill of Ayounwatha,

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* Beauchamp is of opinion that the Iroquois came rom the West, in a general migration of the Huron-Iroquois people, and that only the Mohawks penetrated to Montreal, the other four Nations remaining in the countries where they were when the League was established, the Tuscaroras going southwest to the Mississippi and then east to the locality from which they, long afterwards, came north to the Iroquois Country.

† David Cusick states a date long prior, while his commentator, Beauchamp, puts it later. The date in the text is, however, reliably established (see Hale's Iroquois Book of Rites).

or Hiawatha.* From this time their history, so far as recorded, may be summarized, or briefly outlined, as follows :

1603 : The Dutch arrived and founded a Colony at New Amsterdam, now New York, and, extending their possessions up the Hudson River, came in contact with the Five Nations, with whom they formed a "covenant chain," or compact to maintain friendly relations.

1609 : The Five Nations being at war with their old enemies, the Adirondacks, and others, the latter were joined by a party of French under Champlain. The Five Nations had no knowledge of the French previous to this time, nor any quarrel with them. This also was their first experience of firearms, by the use of which they were at first surprised and easily defeated. Thus, too, was founded the hostility which long prevailed between the Five Nations and the French.

1643 : The "Neutral Nation," or Attiwondaronks, who occupied what was subsequently known as the Niagara District of Upper

* This name has been used by Longfellow and improperly applied to a mythical hero of the Ojebwas.

Canada, were "eaten up" by the Five Nations, that is, conquered and destroyed by them as a separate nation, being reduced to a few scattered people, of whom some, no doubt, found a home among other nations, while the remainder were absorbed by their conquerors by the process of adoption, which was a frequent method of treating captives in war, such persons becoming in all respects one with the tribe into which they were adopted.

1656: The Five Nations similarly conquered and destroyed the Eries, whose country was situated on the south side of the lake which now bears their name.

1664: The English superseded the Dutch and assumed their "covenant chain," which may be said to have continued ever since, unbroken.

1665: The French under Courcelles invaded the Five Nations' Territory, ineffectually; and again under DeTracy, when they destroyed a Mohawk village, with a force of 1,200 French and 600 Indians.

1670: The Five Nations, by successful war against the Hurons and Algonquins (Ojebwas,

Ottawas, and others), became dominant in all Upper Canada between Lake Huron, south of Georgian Bay, and the Ottawa. About this time also they broke up the New England nations and reduced them to a condition of dependence, exacting from them a yearly tribute, paid in wampum and furs.

1680: About this date the Senecas invaded and defeated the Illinois. At different dates, which cannot be stated with any degree of accuracy, the Five Nations overcame and reduced to dependence in varying degrees the following nations: Cherokees, Catawbas, Miamis,* Shawnees.† Susquehannocks,‡ Nanticokes, Unamis, Delawares,§ and Minsi; reaching their highest degree of power about the end of the seventeenth century. Some of these conquests, however, occurred at a later date, in the earlier half of the eighteenth century.

1684: The French again, 1,300 strong, under

* Called also Twightwies, or Twightuays.

† Called also Chaounons, Shaounons, and Satanas.

‡ Called also Andastes, or Canastogas.

§ When the Delawares were conquered, the victors said that they had made them women," an expression which continued in use until 1791, when the Delawares joined a confederacy of Indians in a war against the Americans, in which a crushing defeat was inflicted on an army under General St. Clair, whereupon the Delawares, having fought bravely in that battle, were formally declared by the Six Nations to be no longer women, but Men.

De La Barre, invaded the territory of the Onondagas, with little success.

1687: DeNonville, with 2,000 French and 600 Indians, invaded the territory of the Senecas, destroying villages and cornfields.

1688: The Five Nations retaliated upon the French, invading Canada at Chambly and at Frontenac (Kingston), with all the terrors of Indian warfare.

1689: Again, 1,200 strong, they ravaged the neighbourhood of Montreal up to the very fortifications, retiring with 200 prisoners, the French losses amounting to a total of 1,000; and though Frontenac, in the same year, sent a force of 600 against them, destroying three villages and taking 300 prisoners, the Five Nations remained virtually conquerors of all Canada west of Montreal to Lake Huron.

1696: Frontenac in person, with 1,000 French and 100 Indians, overran the Onondagas' and Onedias' Territories, destroying villages and crops. A detachment under Vaudreuil also invaded the Oneidas. Peace was then made, which continued until the conquest of Canada, sixty years later.

1710: An important deputation of Sachems visited England for the purpose of presenting to Queen Anne in person the views of the Five Nations, on questions regarding the international relations between the English and French colonies, and other important matters of public policy.*

1715: The Tuscaroras, driven from North Carolina, sought the protection of the Five Nations, as being of a common origin, and were admitted into the confederacy, which then became the "Six Nations."

1749: Abbe Picquet established a small settlement of Christianized Iroquois at Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg), which rapidly increased,

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*These chiefs were treated with much consideration and attention while in London. A contemporary reference to their visit, which refers to them as "Indian Kings," names them thus, "Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Prow, and Sa Go Yean Qua Prah Ion, of the Maquas; Elow Oh Kaom, and Oh Nee Yeath Ion No Prow, of the River Sachem, and the Ganahjoh-hore Sachem." In the first name may be recognized the Seneca Chief, Teyoninhokarawenh; the following, especially the third name, are more difficult. "Prah," or "Prow," may perhaps represent a mispronunciation or misapprehension of the word Brave, for it can be no part of any Iroquois name because it was at that time unpronounceable by Iroquois lips; the difficulty of pronounciation of the letters b or p, may be understood from the circumstance noted in the same account of this visit of the chiefs being accompanied by a Colonel Peter Schuyler, whom they called "Queder Scuyder," the letter l being also unpronounceable. "Ganajohhore," is Canajoharie, and the Chief who was of that place is said to have been the grandfather of Captain Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea. It was at this time that Queen Anne gave a bible and communion vessels for a church in the Mohawk's country, and which, with the bell of that church, they saved from the destruction of their possessions in the American revolutionary war, and brought with them to Canada, where they are still preserved at the old Mohawk Church near Brantford, the erection of which was one of their first acts when established in their new settlement.

until in 1754 they numbered some 3,600. This settlement was subsequently removed to Caughnawaga* and St. Regis, where this branch of the Iroquois still continues. This division of the people about 1790 to 1800 called themselved "the Seven Nations of Canada."

1753, is the date assigned by some authorities as that at which a considerable number of Nanticokes were taken into the confederacy. These are at the present day represented in the council by two chiefs. Some Tutaloes, who had fled from their enemies and sought refuge with the Six Nations, were also received, and were long represented in the council, but they are now nearly extinct, being reduced to one individual, John Key, now about eighty years of age.

1775: The American revolutionary war broke out. The Six Nations were active participants

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* Kahnawaga, "Rapid River," was the name by which the St. Lawrence was known to the Iroquois. If the name was applied to it generally throughout its length, its resemblance to the word Canada is suggestive—a resemblance which will be appreciable by those who are familiar with French and have some knowledge of the form and mutations of Indian words, and is in fact much closer than often appears in different renderings of the same Indian name; for example, one instance out of many, Seneca, Sonontowa, Onondewa. No satisfactory derivation of the name Canada has as yet been given, and there is none which has obtained full recognition as correct, though the Huron-Iroquois Kanata, group of houses, (compare Mohawk Kanasta, the frame of a house, Kanonsa, a house), is commonly given.

in the contest, being chiefly, perhaps, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, seconded by Brant and other chiefs, for the most part staunch and active adherents to the loyalist cause, though a few were doubtful and held aloof.

1779: In the course of the war many of the villages and possessions of the Six Nations were laid waste by an American army under General Sullivan. They had made great advance in civilization, and many of their dwellings were good two-storey houses, with orchards and cultivated fields, all of which were destroyed; it is stated that in one orchard alone 1,500 fruit trees were cut down by General Sullivan's troops.

1783: The American States became independent, whereupon the United Empire Loyalist migration to Canada took place, in which a large number of the Six Nations, led by Brant, took part, a band of Mohawks forming a settlement upon the Bay of Quinte, but the greater number of the whole people going to the Grand River, where the Government granted them an extensive tract of land. A smaller settlement

of Oneidas is in the Township of Delaware, on the Thames.

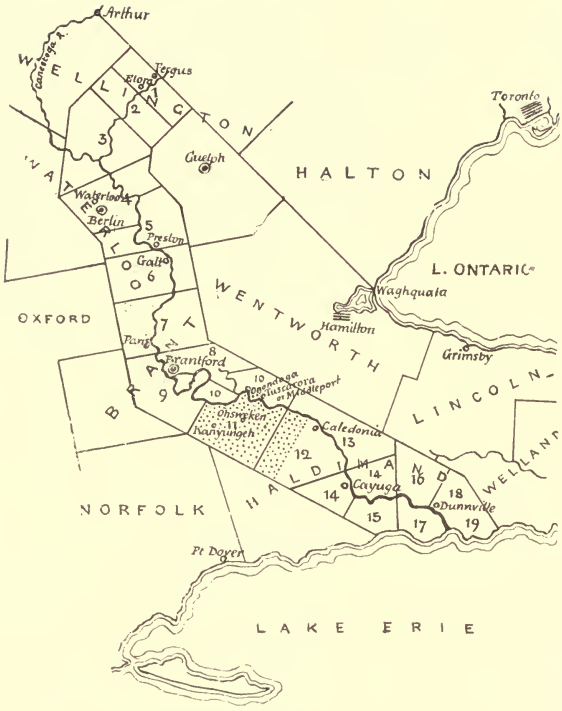
1812: War was declared by the Americans against the English. The former endeavoured, through the means of emissaries of those of the Iroquois who were living in the State of New York, to draw the Six Nations to their side, or at least, to secure their remaining neutral and impassive. The reply made to such overtures was: "We do not seek war, and we may not fight against our brethren, but if our homes are attacked we will defend them." And they did so. Upon Canada being invaded, they took the field in defence of their homes and rendered valuable services; in particular, the victory of Queenston being in great measure due to them, and they fully sharing with Fitzgibbon the honours of the brilliant affair of the Beaver Dams.

1847: The Mississaugas of the Credit, a tribe of the Ojebwas, having found their reservation too small and looking about for a more convenient location which they were endeavouring to secure near Owen Sound, were invited by the Six Nations to join them.

This offer being accepted, the Six Nations granted to them a tract of 4,800 acres in Tuscarora, in the Grand River Reserve, to which another tract of 1,200 acres was added in 1865. The Longhouse, however, was not "extended" to include them, that is, they were not taken into the confederacy, and they manage their own affairs separately. At the time of the settlement of Upper Canada the Mississaugas occupied a large stretch of territory between Lake Huron and the Bay of Quinte, and from them, as possessors, the Government obtained the cession of it. This territory had been conquered by the Six Nations at a date long previous, as already mentioned, but not subsequently retained in actual occupation.

Reserves and Numbers.

Of those of the Six Nations who did not come to Canada after the American revolutionary war, some Onondagas emigrated westwards, while some remained in their old locality, where there were in 1851 about 250, besides about 150 with the Senecas, who numbered 2,712. Of the Oneidas, 126 were at their



MAP SHOWING ORIGINAL GRANT ON THE GRAND RIVER.

The present Reserve is the part shaded.

TOWNSHIPS:

1. Nichol.
2. Pilkington.
3. Woolwich.
4. Waterloo N.
5. Waterloo S.
6. Dumfries N.
7. Dumfries S.
8. Brantford E.
9. Brantford W.
10. Onondaga.
11. Tuscarora.
12. Oneida.
13. Seneca.
14. Cayuga N.
15. Cayuga S.
16. Canborough.
17. Dunn.
18. Moulton.
19. Sherbrooke.

old home in 1851. The Cayugas were scattered, and finally a remnant were deported to the Indian territory on the Mississippi, but about 125 remained with the Senecas. A settlement of Tuscaroras, who were about 300 in 1851, still continues near the Niagara River. There were thus in 1851 over 3,500 of the Six Nations remaining in the State of New York, and a band of about 700 near Green Bay, in Wisconsin.

The reserves now occupied by the Six Nations, or Iroquois, in Canada are the Grand River, originally six miles width on each side of the Grand River, or Ouse, from its mouth on Lake Erie to its source,* of which the greater

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*A license of occupation, reciting the attachment to the Crown of the Mohawk Indians and their consequent losses, was issued 25th October, 1784, by General Haldimand, to the "Mohawk Nation and such other of the Six Nation Indians as should wish to settle in that quarter" for a track of "six miles deep from each side of the River Ouse, or Grand River, beginning at Lake Erie and extending in that proportion to the head of the river." The Grand River was then also called the Oswego, a name which seems to survive in Ohsweken. To provide for this gift to the Indians the Crown had previously, by deed dated 22nd May, 1784, purchased from "the Sachems, War Chiefs and Principal Women of the Missisagas Indian Nation" a large district of which the northern boundary ran from "the creek that falls from a small lake into Lake Ontario, known by the name of Waghquata, and thence northwest until it strikes the River LaTranche." The small lake is Burlington Bay, and LaTranche is the River Thames. It was supposed that this line, which is now the boundary line between the counties of Wentworth and Halton, and is the origin of the N. 45° W., which is so familiar to conveyancers and land surveyors in those counties and Wellington, would run far north of the head of the Grand River, but it in fact crosses the Grand River just above Fergus and about fifteen or twenty miles below its head. It was still more astray with regard to the River LaTranche, from which it is far distant. The river supposed to have been LaTranche is (now) the Conestoga, a branch of the Grand River, which the line strikes at Arthur. As might be expected, these geographical errors led in after years to difficulties and misunderstanding, for after the Crown had sub-

part has been surrendered or alienated,* leaving now, inclusive of 6,000 acres occupied by the Mississaugas, 52,133 acres; Bay of Quinte, 17,000 acres; Thames, in Ontario, 5,240 acres; Watha, in Muskoka, 25,000 acres; Caughnawaga, in the Province of Quebec, 12,000 acres; St. Regis, also in Quebec, 4,869 acres; and "Michel's" Reserve, near Edmonton, in Alberta, 40 square miles.

From the Annual Report on Indian affairs of June, 1896, it appears that shortly prior to that date, the numbers resident in these reserves were as follows: 3,667 in the Grand River Reserve; 1,179 (Mohawks) on the Bay of

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sequently purchased a district north of the line mentioned, the Six Nations claimed the part of it which their original license of occupation included according to its terms. The claim, however, was not admitted, as it was decided that the license was only intended to include what was within the limit of lands owned by the Crown at its date, that is, to the line above described, and for which a formal grant by Letters Patent had already been made. The rather awkward description of six miles deep from each side of the river was changed to six miles from each side of a line drawn from point to point following the general course of the river. The district thus defined may be plainly seen on the Map of Ontario by following the east and west boundary lines of the townships through which the Grand River runs from Fergus to Lake Erie. For this princely domain, which contained about 675,000 acres, a Patent issued on 14th January, 1793, to the "Chiefs, Warriors, Women and People of the Six Nations."

The Bay of Quinte Reserve was described as twelve miles frontage on the Bay between the townships of Thurlow and Richmond, being part of a purchase from the Missisagas in 1784. This is the township of Tyendinaga.

*The moneys obtained for lands surrendered or sold are retained by the Government in trust for the Six Nations, who receive an annual income of about $47,500, which after providing for the necessary expenditure, gives about $36,000, which is divided among the individuals, old and young alike.

Quinte; 799 (Oneidas) in the Thames Reserve; 1,889 at Caughnawaga; 1,254 at St. Regis; 124, known as the Oka Band, an offshoot from the Caughnawagas, on the Watha Reserve; and 82 on Michel's Reserve; making, without including a few who are in reserves of other tribes, a total in Canada of 8,994, officially enumerated; but this is known to be about 300 or 400 less than the actual number, as the official enumeration does not include every individual. There is an annual increase.

Their numbers in former times varied considerably; in 1677 they were estimated at 17,000, and about the end of that century they are said to have taken a census themselves, shewing 17,760. Sir William Johnson estimated them in 1763 at 10,000; Morgan, in 1851, states their numbers as probably 7,000 in Canada and the United States, but he understates the Canadians. In 1858, the numbers on the Grand River Reserve are officially stated at 2,421.

Sir William Johnson, if correctly quoted, which is doubtful, calculated the military strength as follows: Mohawks 160, which can hardly be correct, Oneidas 250, Tuscaroras 140,

Onondagas 150, Cayugas 200, Senecas 1,050, total 1950. An estimate of the numbers who served in the American revolutionary war was: Mohawks 300, Oneidas 150, Tuscaroras 200 Onondagas 300, Cayugas 230, Senecas 400, total 1580. It is impossible to reconcile these two statements.

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The "Longhouse" Territory.

The territory immediately, or actually, occupied by the Five Nations in former times, extended from near Lake Champlain westwards to south of the easterly part of Lake Erie. This country constituted the theoretical Kanonsionni* (in the Seneca language Hotinonsonne or Hodenosaunee), or "Long house," in which the several nations were regarded as dwelling. The typical abode of the Iroquois was a house, or lodge, of frame, walled and covered with bark, built in sections, each of which was the separate dwelling of a family, with a long central passage in common. A house so built was readily enlarged to admit new families, by

* Or Aganuschioni, according to Stone, (Life of Brant).

the extension of one end; and this was the theory of the confederacy,—a long house occupied by five families, and so constituted as to allow of the admission of others. The theoretical Kanonsionni, or Hodenosaunee, was considered as extending from west to east, the door being at the west, about south or south-west of Niagara Falls. Here dwelt the first family, the Senecas, who were the door-keepers; next to them the second family, the Cayugas, and, successively, the Onondagas as the third family, and the Oneidas, the fourth family; and originally, the Mohawks, the fifth family; but this order was changed when the Tuscaroras were admitted, and, occupying a district south of the Oneidas, became fifth family, the Mohawks being then the sixth, occupying the east end of the "House," near a line drawn from Montreal to Albany. The Onondagas, being in the central position, where the common fire in an actual common dwelling would be found, were the fire-keepers, and here was very appropriately the place of the Great Council meetings of the confederacy.

The Tuscaroras and adopted people were said to be frame poles added to the framework of the Longhouse.

Names of the Nations.

Rotinonsionni, "The People of the Longhouse," a derivative of Kanonsionni, is the name by which the Six Nations called themselves as a confederated or united people. They also anciently called themselves Ongue Honwe, "Men surpassing all others," or "real men." Iroquois is the name by which they have been generally known, and which is now used as a term to include the whole of what formerly constituted the confederated Six Nations, while the latter term (Six Nations) is usually restricted to those of them who reside in Ontario, and even here is further confined in common parlance to those residing in the Grand River Reserve. The name Iroquois is ancient, and its meaning has been lost and is consequently disputed. A French writer gives it as "hiro," "I have spoken," an expression used by the Indians at the termination of a speech in council, and

"kouè," an exclamation of joy, or sorrow, a derivation too fanciful to deserve much attention. Mr. Brant Sero asserts that the name has its derivation from the root "iro," a tree,* and means "tree pickers," which is not inappropriate, for it is suggestive of the cutting of bark for the construction of the typical Iroquois lodges, and perhaps also of cutting trees to build the "castles," as several writers term them, or log-built fortifications, which they were accustomed to erect for the defence of their villages.† Hale derives the name from an obsolete word "Ierokwa," to smoke, meaning the people who smoke. Another people of the same stock, long extinct, were certainly known as the Smokers, or Tobacco Nation (Tionontates), so that the name is not improbable. Besides it is quite appropriate to the people whose visible bond of union was their council, where the pipe had an important part, as in all Indian councils. Thus, if this derivation be a true one, there is a secondary meaning which

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* Mr. Brant Sero says this root also appears in the name Ad*iro*ndack, which he explains as "tree eaters,"

† Trees for this purpose were felled and divided into suitable lengths by burning.

may be expressed as "the people who meet in council." The Iroquois were called by the Delawares, Mingoes, or Mengwe, "the people at the springs," referring to their possession of the head waters of rivers which flowed through the Delawares' country.

The confederacy was called Kayanerenhkowa, which means, "great peace."

The name Seneca, properly Sonontowa, Onontewa, Nondewa, or in unabridged form Sonontowane, in French Tsonontouan, is understood to mean "great hill," having reference to a local feature of their territory. In council the Senecas are called Ronaninhohonti, or Honeenhonetoh,* (singular, Roninhohonti, or Honinhohonta), "possessing a door," i.e., door-keepers. The name in the singular in this and each other nation, is sometimes applied to their chief whose name comes first on the roll.

Cayuga, Kayukwa, Kayukwen, or Goyogouin (French), is perhaps "swamp, or marshy land," though this is uncertain. In council they are

* The variation in the forms of these names represents them as in Mohawk, and in another of the languages, which are all dialects of the Mohawk.

called Sotinonawentona, or Sotinonnawenta, "great pipe people," a pipe being their symbol; singular, Sononnawentona.

Onondaga, means "at the hill," a name having reference to locality. The French form of the name is Onnontagué. Their council name is Senhnokete, "bearing the names," or Sagosaanagechthe, "bearing the names on their shoulders;" in the singular, Sakosennakehte, "name carrier."

Oneida, or Oneyote, means the "projecting stone," or rock, also a name of local signification. The council name is Nihatirontakowa, or Nihatientakona, "great tree people;" singular, Niharontakowa.

Mohawk, or (anciently) Mowawog, is said to be a term of reproach or derision, or perhaps dread, meaning "eaters of men," bestowed upon them by their enemies, who recognized in the formidable Mohawks those who would sooner or later "eat them up," an Indian metaphor for complete conquest or destruction. But another derivation is given, Makwa, or bear, an Algonquin word, and a name by which they were known to the Algonquin

Nations.* The name by which they called themselves, and which is in fact their proper name, is Kanienga, Canyengeh, or Kanyungeh, which is local, meaning dwellers "at the flint." The French called them Agniers, a corruption of Yangenge, the Huron equivalent of Kanienga. The colonists of Pennsylvania spelled the name in various forms, as Ganyingoes, Canyinkers, etc. Their council name is Tehadirihoken, the plural form of the first name on the roll of chiefs.

The League. The Confederacy or League of the Iroquois was in the first place an alliance, offensive and defensive, of the Five Nations; and in the second place, an international tribal, or clan relationship, the latter being in theory, and ultimately in fact, a blood relationship between members of the different Nations; the two unions constituting a basket-work-like combination by which the five peoples, though continuing to inhabit separate districts, became so welded together as

* It is possible that this name, if the derivation be reliable, may preserve a reminiscence of a national totem, of which no other record or tradition exists. The "great pipe" of the Cayugas seems of a similar nature.

to constitute an inseparable whole. The government of the Confederacy, as such, rested in the Great Council, whose members were, and still are, hereditary representative Chiefs, originally fifty in number. Of these, thirty-nine still continue, eleven having dropped in consequence of failure of the families to which they belonged. Another, Deyonnehohkaweh, similarly dropped, but was revived by the Council. Upon the entrance of the Tuscaroras into the Confederacy the original number was increased by thirteen Chiefs of that Nation, of whom, however, only four are represented in Canada, the others having disappeared in the migration consequent upon the American revolutionary war. There are also two Chiefs representing the Nanticokes, of whom a remnant were admitted into the Confederacy, though only as a Band, and not as a Nation ; and the Delawares, of whom a band also joined the Six Nations subsequent to their settlement in Canada, are represented by one Chief. The Chiefs of such bands are not accounted as of the full standing of the original fifty, and although the

Tuscaroras were admitted as a Nation their Chiefs have never been accorded full equality with the fifty. There are five classes of chiefs, namely, Head Chiefs, and Warrior, Pinetree' War, and Honorary, Chiefs.

Head Chiefs. The hereditary Chiefs are usually called Head Chiefs, but are known to the Indians themselves as Nobles, or "Lord" Chiefs (Royaner). The original names are maintained and pass to the successors as hereditary titles do among other people, so that the Head Chiefs of the present day bear the same names as their ancestors of 1459. The succession is by descent, traced in the female line, and is not simply hereditary, but is partly elective also; there is no person in whom the right of succession vests as of course, but the oldest near female relative of the deceased Chief (with her colleagues, as mentioned below), nominates a successor from among those eligible, usually selecting her own son or grandson, unless she assents to the advancement of the Second Chief, when there is one. The person thus selected is then "raised

up," or installed, by the Chiefs of his nation in place of the deceased, whose name or title he assumes. In the original five Nations this is done by a ceremony of "condolence," as it is called, commencing with a formal announcement of the death of the Chief, followed by a lengthy recitation or chant of mourning or condolence, at the conclusion of which a fit successor is called for, when the person selected is introduced, his new name is bestowed upon him, and he is escorted by one or two Chiefs to and fro in presence of those assembled, the duties of his office being recited or chanted. The new Chief is then presented to the Council, and takes his place as a member of it.

The mode of nomination is imperfectly understood by many who are generally well informed on such subjects, and, so far as the writer can learn, it is not described by any author in precise terms. It is sometimes stated as made by the oldest near relative, and sometimes as by the female relatives, both statements being indefinite, for who is the "oldest near relative" cannot be determined without further explanation, while "female relatives" may

comprise two, or ten, or twenty, or more persons, according as it is understood. From careful enquiry, and comparing at least three independent accounts, obtained from the Indians themselves, the writer derives the following: The right of nomination vests in the oldest near female relative of the deceased Chief, that is, the oldest of a class composed of his maternal grandmother and grand aunts, if living, but if none of those are living, then the oldest of a class composed of his mother and her sisters (daughters of the mother's mother), or if none of these, then of his sisters, daughters of his mother, and if these also are wanting, then of his neices, daughters of his mother's daughters; and if all these fail, then the right passes to collateral relatives of his mother's totem, and if there are none of these, no nomination can be made, and the Chiefship becomes extinct. The nominator consults with the two next senior women, ascertained by the same order and classification, of the family, and the nomination is thus made. It does not seem very clear what occurs if the three do not agree. A case has occurred, that of Tyogwawaken, late Moses

Hill, who died in August, 1896, where the nominator, being a Christian, desires to select a Christian, while the two colleagues, being pagans, are equally decided in favour of one of their belief, and as neither will give way, there has been, as yet, no nomination, although it is more than a year since the vacancy occurred. From this it would seem either that there must be agreement of all three, or at least that the nominator must secure one of the others to concur in her selection ; but the writer has been informed by a Chief who is well versed in such matters, that the nominator has the right to insist upon her selection, although the others do not agree, but does not consider it politic to do so.

The son of a Chief cannot succeed his father, because he is of his mother's totem, necessarily different from that of his father, and is therefore not of the family to which the Chiefship appertains.

If a Chiefship fails in consequence of the family to which it belongs becoming extinct, either in the person of a nominator, or of a qualified nominee, the Great Council has power

to transfer the Chiefship to another family (preferably one which is, or is considered to be, akin to the extinct family), in which a Chief is then nominated by the senior woman and her associates, and assumes the title in the usual, manner, whereupon the succession goes in that family. This explains the change which has occurred in a few of the totems of the Chiefs. It is said that the power has been rarely exercised. Of the few instances which are known, some have occurred in consequence of the partial breaking up of some of the Nations after the American revolutionary war. A notable example of this is Atotarho, which Chiefship is held in Canada by a family one of whom was so raised up. The Atotarho of 1783 remained in the State of New York, but as the family afterwards became extinct there in the true line of succession, the right of the present holder of the title cannot be disputed. Another important Chiefship which has undergone a similar change in the line of succession is Deyonnehohkaweh, but in this case there is no apparent change of totem. Soyonwese, also extinct, has lately been revived. The Chiefship Kanongweyondoh is

held by a Regent of the proper totem, the family of rightful succession not being in Canada; they are believed to have gone with the band which went to Green Bay in Wisconsin.

The Head Chiefs, were formerly (as of course they are now) civil Chiefs only, with the exception of Tehkarihoken and Skanawadeh, who were permanent or hereditary War Chiefs, as well as having civil authority equally with their colleagues; Skanawadeh especially had important powers and responsibilities. Morgan (a Seneca by adoption) says there were two hereditary War Chiefs of the Senecas, Tawannears, or Thaowanyaths, (Wolf clan), and Sonosowa (Turtle clan), but these are not on the roll of Chiefs. Hale suggests that, as the Senecas were responsible for the defence of the western border of the confederacy, they may have named these from among the Warrior Chiefs, to perform the duties of wardens of the marches.

The women of a Chief's family are known by the Indians as "Noble" women (Oyaner).

Warrior Chiefs. The Head Chiefs, or certain of them, are each attended by a sub-Chief, properly called Warrior Chief, but now usually known as the Second Chief, who is an executive officer, but also may appear in Council as the Deputy of the Head Chief, in case of the absence of the latter. He has no voice in Council except when so acting as Deputy, but in modern times he frequently sits in Council and takes part in deliberations, if permitted to do so by the Head Chief. The Second Chief is chosen in the same manner as a successor to the Head Chiefship, from persons eligible for that position, and thus any such Chief who displays proper ability is likely to be advanced to the Head Chiefship on a vacancy occurring. The Second Chief has no official name or title, and there is no especial ceremony of installation on his appointment. He holds his office during good behaviour, and may be removed (for cause) in the same manner as he is nominated. The Second Chiefs have gradually assumed greater powers and more certain position than they formerly had.

There are no Second Chiefs among the Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, or Delawares, and according to strict rule there should be none among the Senecas, except in the case of Deyonnehohkaweh, the hereditary Door-keeper, but this rule is not strictly observed, and an exception is sometimes made.

The Delaware term Sachem—now almost an English word—which is frequently employed by writers to designate a Chief, and is used by Morgan to designate the Head Chiefs, is also used by the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve, but, at the present day at least, is applied by them to the Second or other minor Chiefs only.

Regents. When a Head Chief is under age, or for any other reason incapable of acting, he is sometimes represented by a Locum tenens, or Regent, as he is called, who should be a member of the same family as the Chief, and, in theory, holds office during the pleasure of the nominator, and her colleagues, but once appointed, he is rarely, if ever, removed, except when displaced by the Head Chief becoming able to take his place.

Pinetree Chiefs. Another class of Chiefs who have a place in Council are the Wakanehdodeh, or "Pinetree" Chiefs, the name signifying "a pinetree has sprung up"; they are also called "self-made" Chiefs. These are men whose abilities or acquirements are such as to bring them into prominence, and to render them useful members of the Council, by whom they are therefore admitted and constituted as Chiefs, and become members of the Council, with the same status as the Head Chiefs, but for life only. In the roll of Chiefs the Pinetrees are put in places vacant in consequence of extinction of hereditary Chiefships, but they do not otherwise represent such extinct Chiefships. Capt. Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, was a Pinetree Chief. He married the daughter of Tehkarihoken, and the right of nomination to that Chiefship having fallen to her, she named her son, Capt. John Brant, Ahyouwaigs, and since then the Chiefship has always been held by a descendant of Capt. Joseph Brant, and must so continue.

War Chiefs. With the exception of Tehkarihoken and Skanawadeh, and perhaps also the Seneca Warrior Chiefs Tawanears and Sonosowa, if Morgan's statement is correct, there never were regular War Chiefs, or recognized official military commanders. Anyone might assume that position for any particular enterprise if he could secure a following, and the Indians were guided and governed by public opinion to so great an extent that there was never much probability of any mere braggart putting himself forward. Competent leaders soon became known, and so well known that, in great affairs involving the whole Confederacy, it does not appear that there was ever much difficulty in the selection of a leader. Cusick says that for important occasions the Bear clan selected the "great warrior," or commander.

Since settlement in Canada the Six Nations have been engaged in no war except that of 1812,* and consequently War Chiefs have been

*Though they offered their services to the Government in 1837, in 1866, and in 1885, and indeed, on every occasion where military operations were undertaken or likely to be required. A few were under arms in 1837.

but few. Those of 1812 whose names are recorded were the following:

Captain John Norton, Teyoninhokarawen, was commissioned as Captain of the Indians; he commanded the Indians at Queenston, where he was wounded, and as his name does not occur again, it is probable that this was his last battle. It has been asserted that he was really a white man, but his name, that of a hereditary chief, is proof to the contrary.

Captain John Brant Ahyouwaigs, Tehkarihoken, who was conspicuous for his boldness and activity at Queenston, although a mere boy, being only seventeen years of age. He was according to one writer, closely attended in that battle by a chief named Jacobs, supposed by some to have been a man of years and experience, charged with the duty of restraining the ardour of the young chieftain, but it is more probable that he was Tehkarihoken's second or warrior chief. Captain John Brant was present in every important engagement in the district south of Burlington.

Captain, afterwards Colonel, William Johnson Kerr, Mohawk, commanded the Indians at

Beaver dams and elsewhere. Walter Kerr and Robert Kerr, the two brothers of Captain Kerr, also served in 1812, but apparently as officers in the army and not as war chiefs ; they were both wounded and taken prisoners, but managed to escape. Walter Kerr died of his wounds.

John Smoke Johnson, Sakayengwaraton, was also a War Chief in 1812, and was highly complimented by the Officer Commanding for his skill and gallantry.

Another was Chief Clench, whose son, Henry Clench, Kanogweya, was father of Capt. Joseph Clench named below.

To come to the present day, although war chiefs as such are no more, there are men who may fairly be accounted as such, although not having acquired their position in the olden manner, but as officers of militia by regular commission. Of these there are Captain Joseph Clench, and Lieut. John William Martin Elliott, Chief Deyonhehgweh, both of 37th Haldimand Rifles. It may not be improper to include in the same list two honorary chiefs, Lieut.-Col. Robert Lottridge Nelles, Kahnedogonah, commanding 37th Halidimand Rifles, and

Major William George Mutton, Royehhon, sometime attached to the same Regiment.

Honorary Chiefs. Besides the Head Chiefs, and their sub-Chiefs, there is a class of Chiefs who should not, perhaps, be overlooked. The custom of adoption has always been prevalent among the Indians, and not only members of other Indian Nations, but also white men and women are sometimes adopted. This may be done by any Indian, and the person adopted acquires a certain status, in theory at least, which, if he does not take up his residence and become one of the family into which he is adopted (which would secure him full recognition as a member of the Nation), is commonly expressed by the term "giving an Indian name," and means little if anything more than that. The Chiefs in Council, however, may adopt persons who thereby acquire a status of importance in the whole community. This they usually do in the case of persons, such as members of the Royal Family, Governors-General, or others of prominence, who visit them, this being the

highest honour it is in their power to confer. The distinction is also sometimes accorded to any person, whom for any special reason they desire to honour, especially is he is the holder of military rank. Such persons are Honorary Chiefs, and are theoretically entitled to a place in Council, but never take any actual part. The ceremony of adoption of such persons may be described in a general way as consisting of the introduction to the Chiefs, each of whom shakes hands with the new member, who is then escorted up and down before the Chiefs and Warriors, while a suitable part of the ancient ritual is chanted. When the Earl of Aberdeen was adopted he was thus escorted up and down between the lines, turned inwards, of the guard of honour—all Iroquois warriors—furnished on the occasion by 37th Haldimand Rifles.

The adoption of an Honorary Chief must have the unanimous consent of the Chiefs present in Council.

It is said that an Honorary Chief, on being adopted, was expected to give a whole ox for a feast to the Chiefs and people. If

this ever was a recognized custom, it is not so now.* A gift, not necessarily costly, to the Council House is much appreciated. Personal gifts to Chiefs who take part in the ceremony, while courtesy forbids their being refused if offered, are considered derogatory to the dignity of the Chiefs.

Ladies are adopted with a somewhat similar ceremony, and the presentation of some symbolical article of use or ornament. The wife of an Honorary Chief is usually adopted if presented to the Council by him. She should be of a totem or clan different from that of her husband.

Similar adoptions are sometimes made by the Chiefs of one Nation only, and persons so adopted become Honorary Chiefs in such Nation, being tribal only and without any status in the confederacy unless presented to the Great Council and accepted by them, when they become Honorary Chiefs of the Six Nations.

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* The Head Chief sometimes "kills an ox," or give a feast to the Chiefs of their own nation, on being raised up by them.

The Council. The proceedings of the "Great Council," of which the Council which now meets regularly on the Grand River Reserve is the successor, were anciently extremely formal, always commencing with an expression of gratitude to the Great Spirit for bringing all safely on their journeys to the place of meeting; and this form is still observed, although the modern traveller is not beset with the dangers and difficulties incident to a long journey through the forests of by-gone days. The roll of Chiefs was gone through in a kind of lengthy chant, and the historical wampum belts were produced and their records recited, thus keeping the history of the Confederacy taught with care to each succeeding generation. Such preliminaries occupied many hours, so that in old times a meeting of Council was an affair of days, but modern ideas and the necessities of modern life have caused such forms to be greatly abridged, and to be in fact observed in outline only. Instead of the lengthy recital of the Chiefs the roll is called in a simple and prosaic manner, and the conning of the wampum belts

is represented by the reading of the minutes of the last meeting.*

The Nations were, and still are, arranged in Council in due order, the Mohawks and Senecas on one side, and the Cayugas and Oneidas, with, in later times, the Tuscaroras and the Nanticokes, on the opposite, these being called the "Four Brethren;"† with the latter is also placed the one Delaware. Between the other two, and forming the third side of a square, were the Onondagas. This arrangement is now modified by the presence at Council meetings of the Superintendent, whom the Indians term the "Visiting" Superintendent, representing the Government, and who presides, supported by the Clerks and Interpreters, occupying the fourth side of the square, and having the Mohawks and Senecas on his left,

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* See appendix illustrating the manner of proceeding in Council in former times, and the style of addresses.

†The Mohawks were accounted as Fathers to the Oneidas; the Onondagas as Brothers to the Mohawks, and Uncles to the Oneidas, and also Fathers to the Cayugas; the Senecas as Brothers to the Onondagas, and Uncles to the Cayugas. The Mohawks were the Elder Brethren, and the Senecas the Younger. When a new chief has been raised up, he is introduced by those of his own Nation, and installed by one of the others; if he is of one of the Father Nations, he is installed by a Junior, as a mark of filial respect; if a Junior, he is installed by a Senior, as a proper act of parental sympathy and condolence. These relationships have reference to the order in which each Nation entered the Confederacy.

the "Four Brethren" on his right, and the Onondagas opposite to him.

Although each Chief speaks in his own language, the proceedings are officially, or at least generally, carried on in the Mohawk language, which is understood by all the Nations, every formal act or statement being repeated in English by the Interpreter. If addresses are made by the Superintendent, or any other visitor, in English, they are repeated by the Interpreter in Mohawk.

On each of the three sides there is an officer known as the Speaker, and on the fourth side, seated near the Secretary of Council, is another who is called the Speaker of the Council. The Speakers are appointed by the Chiefs in Council, and hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

All questions originate and are first considered on the Mohawk side, whose Speaker informs the Speaker of the Cayuga side of their decision. The question is then considered by the Four Brethren, and the decision announced by their Speaker. If this is a concurrence with the Mohawk side, the question is settled, and the Speaker of the Onondagas so informs the

Speaker of the Council, by whom the decision of the Council is then declared or communicated to the Superintendent. If, however, the two sides disagree, the question is discussed by the Onondagas, whose decision is final, and is reported by their Speaker to the Speaker of the Council, who then declares the decision of the Council.

No vote is taken in any manner usual elsewhere, but the Chiefs of each nation are divided into little groups, the members of which confer together, and then with other groups, until either a general concurrence of opinion is attained, or it is ascertained that there is a majority, whose decision the Speaker declares as the act of the whole, but either he or some one speaking for the minority, may inform the other side that the decision is not concurred in by all.

No Council meeting may be held during a period of ten days after the death of a Chief; and if a Chief dies while the Council is in session, there must be an immediate adjournment.

Each nation has its private Council house, or Longhouse, where the Chiefs of that nation may

meet as occasion requires, to discuss matters which concern them only, and in which the whole body, or Great Council, is not interested. Such Council meetings are non-official and do not communicate with the Government.

Grand Councils, as they are called, are held at irregular and infrequent intervals. To such Councils Chiefs are summoned, representing not only the separate sections or bands of the Iroquois, but also other Indian nations who may be interested in any matter to be proposed for discussion. A special place of meeting is appointed for each occasion.

The affairs of the Six Nations, since their settlement in Canada, have been administered by the following Superintendents or Officers: Sir John Johnson; Col. John Butler, who died 1796; Col. Alexander McKee, who died 1799; Capt. William Claus, who died 1826; Col. James Givens, until 1828; Capt. John Brant, Ahyouwaigs, who died in 1832; Major James Winnett, until 1845; David Thorburn, until 1862; Lieut.-Col. Jasper Tough Gilkison, until 1891; and since that date, Capt. Edwin Duncan Cameron.

Laws. The laws of the Six Nations were anciently simple. Murder was punished according to the Lex talionis; that is, a near relative of the victim was expected to avenge his death by slaying his murderer. This custom prevailed generally among the Indians, and was a fruitful source of international warfare. Its application also helps to explain many things which have been much misunderstood. For example, when prisoners were taken in war it was usual to put as many to death as would equal the losses sustained by the victors. Among the Iroquois when one of them was killed, whether purposely or by accident, by another of their own people, (which very seldom happened), the Chiefs of the locality, or friends of both parties, would promptly meet, and if possible, anticipate the setting out of the avenger, in order to discuss the circumstances with a view to a settlement which would prevent the operation of the Lex talionis and the possible arising of a feud between families. If their offices were successful, the slayer tendered to the relatives of the victim a certain quantity of white

wampum as a peace offering, confessing the crime and petitioning for forgiveness. If this was accepted, the crime was condoned, and the accused was free. According to one authority, one hundred yards of wampum was paid for the slaying of a man ; another writer says six strings, perhaps meaning six belts, which might be large enough to contain about one hundred yards. Double the quantity was paid for slaying a woman.

Immorality, before the days of white influence, was punishable with great severity, and was of rare occurrence.

Theft was scarcely known, for in his natural state the Indian was scrupulously honest, truthful, and law-abiding, and was kept so by the prevalence of what might be called public opinion, which, where all lived so much as one family, was a most potent factor in restraining any tendency to crime.

Their fidelity was not in social relations merely, but extended also to international affairs. Morgan says, " To the faith of treaties the Iroquois adhered with unwavering fidelity." The continuance of the League itself for four

and a half centuries, and the never broken "covenant chain," entered into with the Dutch and renewed with the English, and which stood the very severe strain put upon it by the American revolutionary war, may be referred to as evidence of this fact, if any were needed.

Upon the white men—not all of them, but unfortunately, too many of them, both official and non-official persons, but chiefly the low traders, who have, all over the continent, been the curse of the Indians,*—rests the responsibility of teaching the Indians to be untruthful, immoral and of uncertain honesty; yet even now the dweller in the Reserve does not lock his doors, and when he goes out and no one remains within, he simply places the broom standing against the wall beside the front door, as the well-known signal for "not at home." Nor are the acquired vices of untruthfulness and immorality by any means general among the Six Nations, as there are many of them

* It may perhaps be truthfully asserted that no people have ever been so shamefully sinned against as the Indians, and not only in wrong-doing to individuals, but worse still in the persistence of whites in every form of evil, so that the Indians' sense of right and wrong has been blunted and obscured, and each successive generation has been more and more accustomed to, and taught to see but little harm in, things which their ancestors would have regarded with the greatest aversion.

who are keenly sensitive, and earnestly desirous of upholding the "honour of the Nation," and will do so by all means in their power if judiciously encouraged and aided by those whites who are officially or otherwise influential among them.

Although continuing to carry on their ancient form of government, the nations are now subject to the general laws of Canada, as applied to them by the Indian Act. They have, however, in the Grand River Reserve a code of By-laws enacted by the Great Council, in accordance with which the Reserve is governed. Their lands, which are common property, have been assigned to individuals,* who hold their allotments in fee simple, subject to certain restrictions on the power of alienation, which can only be made to an Indian of the Reserve. No transfer by deed is of any effect unless allowed and confirmed by the Chiefs in Council.

Morgan says that in former times the wife's right of property was separate and independent of any right of her husband; she did not

* This was also their custom in ancient times, as regards cultivated lands, but no doubt for a less certain tenure.

inherit from him, but might be his donee; neither did his children inherit from him, but from their mother only, the father's heirs being his collateral relatives. The children also belonged to the mother, being of her nation and totem, and went with her in the event of divorce or separation.

Marriage. Marriage customs were simple, and marriage was not necessarily a union for life, but might be dissolved by either party. Ignorance of this ancient law on the part of whites who have been connected with the Indians officially, or as missionaries, has undoubtedly been the cause of a great deal of difficulty, misunderstanding, and mischief; while on the other hand, unscrupulous whites, knowing this to be the law, have formed marriages according to Indian custom, which they have freely dissolved when it suited them to do so, with a result as disastrous to the Indians as the introduction among them, by the same class of people, of rum and small-pox.

It is but just to the Pagans, of whom there are some 800 still remaining on the reserve, and

who are more tenacious of their ancient customs than the Christians, to note that they deprecate divorce and insist on the permanence of marriage much more strongly than the Christianized Indians do.

Polygamy, commonly allowed in other Indian nations, was not permitted among the Iroquois.

Marriage between persons of the same totem, even though of different nations, was strictly prohibited, such persons being regarded as blood relations ; but there was no restriction between persons of the same tribe if of different totems ; thus a Mohawk Turtle might marry anyone, Mohawk, or any other, of another totem, but not a Turtle of either his own or any other nation.

Adoption. A person adopted is accounted an actual member of the clan or family into which he is received, and a blood relation to all others of the same totem. Captives taken in war, after a sufficient number had been slain, or tortured, to satisfy revenge for losses sustained by the victors, were either adopted or enslaved. If

adopted, they became full members of the clan or family by whom they were adopted, and entitled to all rights and subject to all responsibilities as fully as if they had been born members of the nation, excepting only the right to return to their own people and the necessary restraint upon their liberty to leave the village or encampment. A prisoner about to be put to death might be claimed by anyone taking a fancy to him and desiring to have him either as a slave or for adoption, the latter usually with the intention of his being in place of some member of the family who had died or been killed, in which case the adopted one was certain of being treated with the utmost favour and kindness. The fate of prisoners was usually decided by the women.

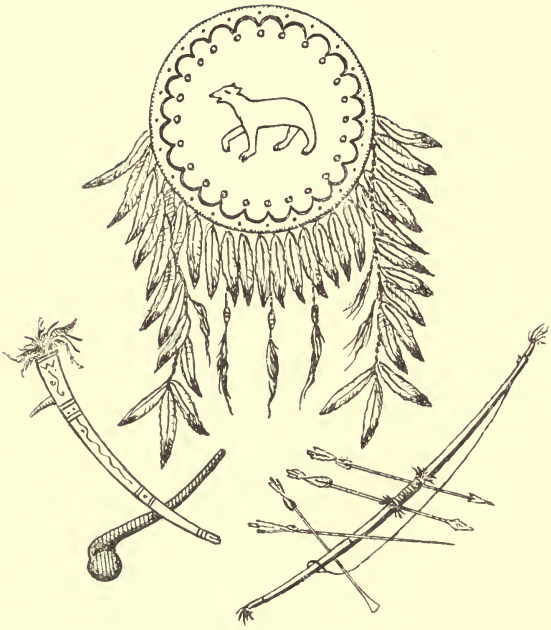
War Customs. Although the Iroquois in the days of their greatness had acquired a settled abode and subsisted to some extent by agriculture, and sought to establish and maintain peace, war may be said to have been at all times prior to their settlement in Canada their normal con-

dition. If the Confederacy were not engaged in war, some of the nations, or parties great or small, were constantly engaged in some hostility or war-like enterprise. Any person desiring to lead a war party, after consulting a few, invited all the young men of his town to a feast of dog's flesh, when each one who partook of it was thereupon deemed enrolled for the expedition. A war party, when formed and about to proceed, put on all their best clothes, and then set out, marching in Indian file, in silence.* They proceeded thus to a distance of three or four miles and halted, when the women having followed with the men's old clothes, they put these on, doffing all the finery, with which the women returned. At the place of this halt they cut a blaze on a large tree and recorded on it in picture-writing with red paint the particulars of the expedition, number of men, etc., canoes pointed in the direction of the enemy, and "some animal, as a deer or fox, an emblem of the nation against which the expedition was designed," painted at the head

*Such a party passing a British fort was accorded the honour of the garrison being turned out to present arms, the drums playing a march, which the Indians each one by one as he passed acknowledged by firing his musket into the ground before the officer commanding.

of the canoes. On their return they stopped at the same blazed tree, and sent forward messengers to their village to notify their return, and to prepare for their proper reception. Then they recorded the result of the expedition on the blazed tree, the number of enemies killed, denoted by scalps painted black, the number of prisoners, denoted by a pot-hook-like figure, representing the withes with which a prisoner was bound, and other particulars, and canoes pointed homewards.

Arms. The dress and arms of the Iroquois were no doubt in ancient times similar to those of the Indians of the prairies of the present century, becoming modified as new weapons and clothing were acquired or copied from the whites. They did not anciently possess horses, as theirs was a woodland country, and consequently probably did not use the spear, their weapons being bows and arrows, clubs, tomahawks, and knives, and, at a later date, muskets instead of bows and arrows. When they used the latter they used shields also, and probably of typical



SHIELD AND ARMS.

Indian pattern, namely, circular, about two and a half feet in diameter ; those of the Indians of the prairies were made of the hide taken from the neck of a buffalo, dressed with glue ; those of the Iroquois of small sticks interwoven with hemp and silk grass ; either being an effective defence against arrows. The prairie shield was adorned with feather fringes and lambrequins of feathers or fur, frequently tricked with conventional ornament or picture-writing, and sometimes emblazoned with the totem of the owner ; and no doubt the Iroquois shield was similarly furnished and ornamented. The introduction of firearms soon rendered the shield useless, and superseded the bow and arrows, which last, however, long continued in use in hunting and fowling, especially as the weapon of the boys, who were very skilful in its use. The Iroquois bow was of three and a half or four feet in length, and a very powerful weapon. Catlin says that those used by the Indians of the plains, which were of about the same length, were capable of sending an arrow entirely through the body of a buffalo. The bows which he describes were

strengthened by having buffalo's sinews glued upon them. Arrowheads were as shewn in the accompanying cut. The feathers were set on spirally. Bertram describes the Iroquois weapons of war in his time, about or prior to 1750, as consisting of musket, tomahawk, and knife; and these, he says, they always carried, the tomahawk being carried in the belt behind. The club was made of ironwood, with a large ball at the head; or of deer horn or hardwood, elaborately carved and ornamented with feathers, etc., and having inserted in its edge a sharp deer horn about four inches long, or, in later times, a metal blade, somewhat resembling a spear head. The club is still in use for ceremonial purposes. The tomahawk may possibly be a development of the club, being originally a stone weapon with a wooden handle,—almost identical in fact with the so-called club of the Indians of the North-west of the present day. Its most ancient form was a stone head with grooved sides by which it was attached to the handle. The North-West club has the handle inserted in a socket, or in a hole bored through the stone.

The metal head of the tomahawk, of more recent times at least, was not of native manufacture, but was purchased from white traders. It was often made with the top hollowed out to be used as a pipe, the handle being perforated so as to serve as the stem. The tomahawk was, as are all Indian weapons in greater or less degree, gayly painted, and adorned with beadwork, feathers, fur or hair, the latter either that of some animal, or, preferably no doubt, that of an enemy. The Iroquois could use the tomahawk by throwing, with great dexterity.

Costume. The costume of the Iroquois consisted of the following articles:

Head dress: this is a turban-shaped cap, sometimes of fur, but described by Morgan as consisting of a frame work of splints, one piece fitting the head and the other arched over the head from side to side; over which a cap of network or other construction was then made to enclose the frame: "from the top a cluster of white feathers depended," but his drawing shows the cluster erect. A white ostrich feather seems to be the preferable form of this cluster;

ostrich feathers were introduced by traders, and being admirably consistent with Indian fancy were freely used by the eastern Indian nations. The cluster seems to have been generally placed above the right temple. There are, however, a good many portraits of Iroquois from which it would seem that there was a great variety of styles, both of construction of cap and of feather ornamentation. Catlin has one with a plume of pink and white ostrich feathers hanging in a large cluster on one side. A portrait of John Brant shows a double cluster parting over the middle of the forehead and curving outwards and downwards on each side—seemingly either ostrich feathers or cocks feathers (the portrait is indistinct), and coloured dark red. Another portrait of John Brant shews a splendid headdress, composed of a chaplet or panache of large stiff ostrich feathers set erect. Catlin has a Seneca with a blue turban, having a very gay cluster—red, blue, and yellow—over the right side. Either with or without the cluster, feathers may be worn as a double panache, or in a chaplet, the latter being a mode usual among Indians,

and may be of any bird and of any colour, but perhaps bronze turkey feathers by preference; and such panache or chaplet may be accompanied by, or so made as to terminate in, a lambrequin of the same feathers. The fillet or outside band of the cap is ornamented with beads. A silver fillet is sometimes used. A chief now living on the Reserve wears a cap furnished with a silver fillet from which rise two crane's wings set back to back and turning backwards covering the cap but displaying the Iroquois single feather slanting downwards at the back. This single feather, which Morgan, who describes it as slanting back but upwards, says is typical or distinctive of the Iroquois, and for which an eagle feather is preferred, should be set in a little silver tube on the top of the arched splint, and loosely, so that it may revolve freely. Anciently chiefs wore horns in the headdress as the insignia of their rank or office, and "he wears the horns," is a figurative expression for a chief.*

In war the Iroquois shaved the head,

*When a chief died it was said that "his horns were resting on his grave," until his successor was raised up to assume and wear them.

excepting the scalp lock, which was invariably preserved intact, so that the scalp might be readily taken by an enemy—if he dared, and could. The scalp was a piece about three inches or so in diameter comprising the central spot where the hair naturally parts. In times of peace the hair was often permitted to grow long, reaching the shoulders ; and some wear it so at the present time.

The Iroquois have beards naturally, though of scanty growth ; formerly they did not allow them to grow, but many of them do so now.

Tunic or coat, of leather, which anciently consisted of two skins, one in front and one behind, joined at the sides, and put on over the head ; it is now made similar to that of the whites, but, unless of quite recent manufacture, fastened with thongs or ribbons instead of buttons. Either kind is elaborately ornamented with bead embroidery, or porcupine quills, leather fringes, yokes or panels of bright cloth, and the like. A very "up to date" coat in possession of the writer (made in Manitoba), is embroidered with silk. An old time style of ornamentation was a fringe of ermines. A

HEAD CHIEF AND WARRIOR CHIEF.

The dress, arms, etc., shewn in this picture are from articles in the possession of the author. The Head Chief's coat is of the ancient pattern, two skins joined at the sides. It is trimmed with fringes of ermines, suspended from the sleeves and from yokes, front and back, of scarlet cloth.

tunic or smock of white linen or cotton is now sometimes worn,—simply a shirt worn on the outside instead of in its customary place.

Sash or shoulder belt: Morgan describes one resembling a military sash, made of woven bead-work* and of loose texture. The Caughnawagas wear this sash wound around the waist, the ends hanging down, which is in fact one of the articles of the well-known Canadian dress affected by snowshoe clubs. A broad shoulder belt of stiff bead-work, ending in a side pouch, is worn ; this is usually called a "chief's sash," and is an article of dress appropriate only for important occasions.

Waist belt : a stout leather waist belt is an indispensable article, as several parts of the dress are fastened by it, and it carries the small arms. It is fitted with a sheath for the knife. Both belt and sheath, if intended to be worn so as to be visible, are adorned with bead-work.

Kilt: formerly of deerskin, now of any material, bordered and fringed with beads (or, if of deerskin, with leather fringes). Its length

* Without any material being used as a backing or foundation, the beads being strung lengthways in the usual manner and also across or interlaced.

seems rather shorter than that of the Highland kilt.* It is now seldom worn.

Breech cloth: of deerskin or cloth, a quarter of a yard wide and two yards long. It was drawn up through the belt, leaving embroidered ends hanging down before and behind from over the belt.

Leggings: of deerskin or cloth, drawn up well above the knee, and fastened by thongs to a belt (under the coat); they are made with a single seam, such seam being worn in the front by the Iroquois, with a band of beadwork all down both sides of the seam, and a similar but much wider band around the bottom, which should reach well down over the moccasin. The thongs by which they are suspended from the belt may be long, with their ends hanging down below the kilt, terminating in bead embroidery or fringes, or hung with rattles or little bells.

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* It is a little curious to note the points of resemblance between the Indian dress and that of the Highlanders of Scotland. Feathered head-dress, short coat or tunic, kilt and plaid; the leggings of the Indian are simply an elogated form of the Highland mogan or footless stocking, and the moccasin resembles the ancient Highland brog; instead of moccasins the Indians sometimes wore a boot made of fur, not unlike the ancient Highland fur boot or buskin; the firebag and the sporran are almost identical; to which may be added the similarity in form of waist and shoulder belts, the round shield, and the accompaniment of arms without which neither dress is complete. Also as the Highlander delights in gay colours and many ornaments, so does the Indian.

Moccasins: always of leather, and usually embroidered. They are properly made with beaded tops turned down.

A plaid or "blanket" of dark coloured cloth, two yards long and the width of the stuff as manufactured, completes the costume. It is worn or carried in any manner, as the wearer pleases. This, no doubt, represents the robe of skin, which is so striking a feature in Catlin's and Kane's pictures, in which it is usually buffalo, but the Iroquois may perhaps have more often used bearskin, as theirs was not a buffalo country. They used, however, to send parties to the prairies to hunt buffalo.

Pouches, especially the "fire-bag," for carrying pipes and tobacco, etc., were a necessary, or at least convenient, adjunct. They were frequently made of the whole skin, with the fur on and head and tail complete, of some small animal. Fire-bags are now made in the North-West of dressed skin beaded. Other pouches are made in different shapes and sizes, of beadwork.

Pipes have always been much used, and great pains and skill have been expended in their construction, in a great variety of patterns, the

heads being generally of stone. The ceremonial "pipe of peace" had a long stem, and was elaborately decorated with beads and hair or feathers, with a panache of eagle feathers suspended from it.

The women, according to Morgan, had no proper head-dress, but sometimes wore a fur cap. An account of a grand game of lacrosse* played at Niagara in 1797, mentions a young maiden placing the ball for commencement of the game, and describes her as elegantly dressed, and wearing a red "tiara (turban, no doubt), plumed with eagle's feathers." Miss Emily Pauline Johnson,† wears the Iroquois single eagle feather. The women wore skirt and overdress answering to the kilt and tunic of the men, and leggings and moccasins with decorations and ornaments in a style similar to that of the men, but less gay, and the plaid or "blanket." The skirt and overdress were in recent times superseded by, or rather comprised

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* Mentioned in Stone's "Life of Brant." The game was between the Mohawks and Senecas, six hundred on each side, of whom the players at a time were sixty on each side. It lasted for three days, and was won by the Senecas, whose winnings, in arms, wampum, furs, etc., amounted to a value of about $1,000.

† The poetess, daughter of the late Chief (Deyonhehgweh) George H. M. Johnson, Tekahionwake.

A CHIEF'S DAUGHTER.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

in, a single garment. The material of their dress was anciently of leather, but in later times of cloth for the plaid and skirt (usually dark blue), and leggings (red or blue), and lighter material of gay colours for the overdress.

Armlets are worn above the elbow; they are of silver, or of cloth or velvet beaded, or of woven bead-work; wrist bands and knee bands, also of bead-work, or of red or blue velvet beaded, are worn.

Medals are worn by those who have them, hung from a necklace, or fastened on the coat. Formerly a crescent shaped silver ornament was frequently thus worn.

A usual ornament in old times was a necklace of wampum, or of bears' claws, or of the teeth of any animal. Such ornaments are now worn rarely, if at all, by the Iroquois.

Tassels or tufts and fringes of hair (preferably human hair, spoil of the enemy), were formerly much used for the adornment of clothing, as well as weapons.

Feathers were also worn in a similar manner. Birds' wings and feather fans seem to have

been used for some ceremonial purposes in the eighteenth century.

Embroidery and fringes above mentioned as of bead-work, may also be, and doubtless usually were in former times, of porcupine quills dyed in bright colours.

Wampum. Wampum consisted of beads made in various shapes and of various substances, anciently of little painted sticks, but commonly of bone or shell. A string of wampum in the possession of the writer, which originally came from the Six Nations' country in the State of New York, is made of flat circular discs of bone, about one-fourth of an inch in diameter, strung together through a hole in the centre of the disc ; they are coloured black on the edge. Another string is of white pipe-shaped shells an inch or more in length, unmanufactured, strung lengthways. Another is of shell, white and purple, carefully worked into cylindrical beads of from a quarter of an inch to an inch and a quarter in length, also strung lengthways. There are similar beads worked from bone. Some beads of the same

IROQUOIS BEADWORK.

CAUGHNAWAGA.
Woman's Leggings.

This work formed part of an Exhibit at the Chicago International Exhibition, 1893.

GRAND RIVER.
Waist Belt and Pouch.

form which are called wampum, are of dark red vitreous substance, very brittle, said to be of Venetian manufacture and of early importation.

The beads, which are the principal adornment of all Indian work, are simply a modern form of wampum.

Wampum was made up in "belts" as broad as one's hand and about two feet long, or upwards. In Pontiac's war they were used of great length and breadth, and were black and purple, signifying war.

When war was declared the fact was announced by a tomahawk painted red, ornamented with red feathers, and with black wampum, stuck in the war post of each village. Black (signifying death), and red (for blood), were regarded by the Iroquois as appropriate to war, and pink and yellow as appropriate to festivity, etc. White was regarded as ceremonial; also as symbolical of peace. White wampum was presented in condonation of homicide.

When a chief died, a mourning belt of wampum was given to his family, by whom it was kept until another chief died, when

it was given to his family in their turn.* This custom is not now observed.

A tribute of belts was annually rendered to the Iroquois by the nations whom they held in subjection. Wampum, in fact, supplied the place of money as a circulating medium.

Nothing of importance was done without wampum, nor was anything not confirmed by the delivery of belts or strings regarded as binding, or deserving of attention.†

Wampum belts being used as tokens of good faith in matters of importance, were preserved as the record of such matters, and were thus the chief means used for preserving history.

The greater part of the historical wampum belts and other wampum owned by the Six Nations seems to have been destroyed in Sullivan's invasion of their country. The most of what was left disappeared mysteriously a few years ago, immediately after the death

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* The utmost respect used to be paid to the memory of the dead. The funerals of both men and women of distinction, or of "noble" rank, were attended by the heads of families and many of the people, and were conducted with much solemnity. At the commencement of every council meeting there used to be a ceremony of condolence for those who had died or been slain since the last meeting. In the appendix is given part of a speech delivered upon such an occasion in 1761.

† See appendix for an illustration of the use of wampum in transaction of important affairs.

of an aged Chief who was the official keeper of it. They have now but four belts left, which are kept at Ohsweken, in the charge of Chief Jacob Salem Johnson, Kanonkwenyah, who is postmaster and has a fireproof safe in his place of business. These belts are all of white bone wampum, with bars of purple shell, the pieces being about a fifth of an inch long and beautifully finished; they are woven or strung both lengthways and across, and not worked on any backing or foundation.

Perhaps the last occasion of the official use of wampum was during the visit to Canada of the Prince of Wales in 1860. An address from the Six Nations to the Prince was prepared, and it was ordered by the Council that its presentation should be accompanied by white wampum. There is, however, no certainty that this direction was carried out, as the miscarriage of some of the arrangements made for the Prince's tour prevented the direct presentation of the address by the Chiefs, who had appointed a large and imposing deputation for that purpose. On one historic occasion since

then wampum was used ; the unveiling of the Brant Memorial at Brantford was made an occasion of great importance, and was attended by three Blackfoot (two Bloods and one Piegan) and four Cree Chiefs from the Northwest, whom the Chiefs of the Six Nations received in due orm, presenting them with white wampum.

At a quite recent date, within the present year, a little string of wampum was presented to Miss Catharine Nina Merritt, Kariwenhawe on her adoption into the Six Nations.

Customs in Dress.

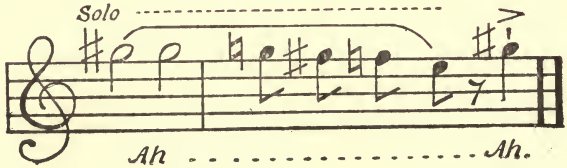
It will naturally be supposed that the Indian dress, fully complete and in its utmost grandeur, would be more especially worn by the chiefs ; this, however, was not usually the case for the chiefs, although they might possess handsome and valuable articles of dress and adornment, usually went about meanly clad, it being assumed that a chief poorly dressed was a generous person who had bestowed his possessions of finery upon others so freely as to leave himself only the worthless remnants. Bertram mentions having seen chiefs of the Six Nations

in shabby clothing collecting the annual tribute among the subjugated nations, and issuing their orders with lordly hauteur and display of arbitrary authority surprisingly inconsistent with their appearance so far as the matter of dress was concerned.

The Chiefs are a little jealous of their perogative in the matter of old clothes, and expect Honorary Chiefs and adopted white women to appear well dressed. It is said that the wife of a well known dignitary of the church forfeited in great measure the respect of the Chiefs by appearing in Council wearing very shabby gloves, a breach of etiquette which the Indians were quick to notice.

The dress, as described in the previous pages was not fully worn on every occasion, but varied from completeness to extreme simplicity according to circumstances. In athletic exercises and games the belt, breech cloth and moccasins usually composed the whole dress of those engaged. The whole costume was especially worn as complete as each one's possessions or ability enabled in the ceremonial dances, which have always been so marked a feature of Indian life.

Dances. Among the Iroquois these dances, according to Morgan, who gives a list of them, were thirty-two in number : eleven for men only, seven for women only, and fourteen for both together ; of which the principal were the war dance, in which men only engaged, and the feather dance, which was participated in by both sexes, and was of a religious character, or an act of worship to the Great Spirit. In the war dance was given the terrible war cry, which Morgan describes in musical score thus :



Time is marked for the dances with a small drum, or with a rattle made of the dried shell and skin of a turtle with grains of corn (maize) inside.

The Lodge. The typical dwelling of the Iroquois was a house or hut with upright sides, semi-circular arched roof, and square ends, the roof and sides

A DANCE.

(From a photograph by Mr. A. E. S. Thompson, Governor-General's Body Guard.)

covered with bark. The interior contained several dwellings, partitioned off, with a common central passage in which were the fireplaces. This method of construction admitted of unlimited extension to admit new families, such extension being effected by adding to one end.

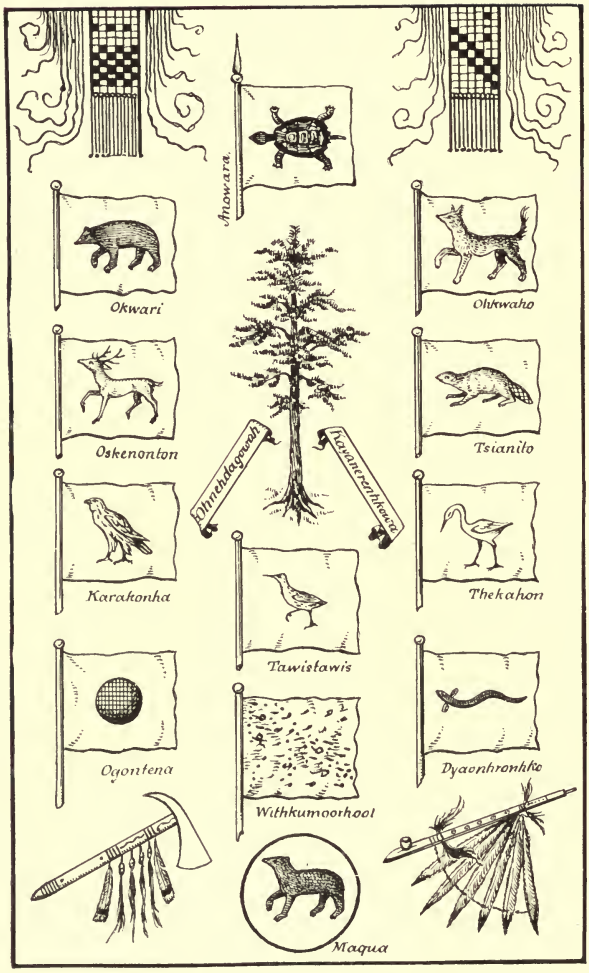
In such dwellings hospitality was freely dispensed. All comers were made welcome, and guests were treated with kindness and courtesy. When a visitor arrived at the house of an Iroquois he was at once seated, and, no matter what the hour might be, the women, usually the mistress of the house, promptly placed food before him, which he took if hungry, but if not, etiquette required him at least to taste it and say "thank you." When the master of a lodge or house came into it, the same rule was observed, his wife immediately placing food before him. It was customary to keep food always ready, there being no set hours for meals, each one eating when he felt inclined. The men were accustomed to eat what was set before them, whether palatable or not, it being regarded as effeminate to show a preference for any particular article.

Food may almost be said to have been common property, for those who had it divided freely with those who had none.

The Iroquois used a vegetable diet to a much greater extent than other Indians, cultivating maize ("Indian corn") and beans for that purpose.

As the people advanced in civilization their primitive long houses became gradually superseded by separate dwellings, more in accordance with the manner of their white neighbours, continuing, however, to be grouped together in towns or villages as a necessary measure for their safety from attacks of enemies. When the Americans ravaged and laid waste the Six Nations' country, and burnt their towns, they found them to contain many well built wooden houses, some of two storeys.

When a house or long house of the earlier sort was occupied by one family it was sometimes ensigned with the family totem in the gable. This is in accordance with a general Indian custom; the prairie dwellers of recent date were accustomed to paint the family totem on the outside of the buffalo skin lodge.



TOTEMS OF THE SIX NATIONS.

Clans and Totems.

In an earlier part of this litttle volume reference is made to the division of the Six Nations into clans, each of which has its heraldic totem, and is known by the name of the animal which the totem represents. The clans have been generally described as eight, and in theory each nation contains members of each of the eight clans, and no doubt actually did so originally, but in the course of time changes have naturally occurred, and some clans have become extinct in some one or more of the nations. The eight clans are: Anowara (pronounced Anowara in Mohawk, Anowàra in Seneca), Turtle, called also Keniahten; Ohkwaho, or Tahionni (Onon.), Wolf; Okwari, or Akskerewake, Bear; Oskenonton, or Ohskanidoh, Deer; Tsianito, Beaver; Karhakonha, Hawk; Thekahon, Crane; and Tawistawis, Snipe. Hale, however, names two more, who also appear in the roll of Chiefs, namely, Ogontena, or Ahtonnos, Ball; and Dyaonhronhko, Eel.

A kind of cadency sometimes appears in totem heraldry, a clan sub-dividing and the

totem undergoing some change; thus, the Turtle clan is addressed in the ancient ritual in a dual form, and does in fact contain two divisions, the Great Turtle and the Lesser Turtle. The Ball clan is claimed by some of that clan to be a further sub-division, and the totem to be, in fact, the small Turtle. The Eel clan may have had its origin in some similar manner, or possibly in the adoption of a clan from a conquered nation. There were Snake clans among some of the neighbouring or "eaten up" people, and the Eel may perhaps preserve one of them. Similarly the Snipe clan has a cadet sub-division, "Prairie Snipe," and the Hawk has a "Hen Hawk" sub-division. Some writers assert that the Iroquois clans were originally only three—Turtle, Wolf, and Bear—but this may be because these three clans were the best known, the others being less important. Among the Mohawks the Turtle clan was esteemed the most noble, the Bear next, and then the Wolf. The order seems to have been different with the other nations.

Hale says that a pine tree was the emblem of the Confederacy.

The totem of the Delaware Chief, Cold Ashes, is very peculiar, and curiously enough, while it is almost impossible to represent it in totem blazonry, it is comparatively easy to do so in European heraldry, (as, Sa., semee of ashes proper; or, Arg., semee of ashes, or cinders extinguished, proper).

Each village seems to have had its totem, as such, unconnected with the clan totems.

Sixteen silk banners displaying the eight totems, prepared under the direction of the writer, are hung in the Council House. These are heraldically described thus: for war, eight banners, Per pale sa. and gu.; and for peace, eight banners, Or, a pale gu. (couleur de rose); charged respectively with the several totems of each clan. On the war banners the totems are displayed in attitudes denoting vigorous action, as rampant, volant, etc., while those on the peace banner are passant, close, and the like, there being no special rule regarding attitudes in totem heraldry.

Roll of Chiefs. The roll of Chiefs of the Great Council of the Kayanerenhkowa, or League of the Six Nations, is as follows :

Mohawks.

GROUP I.

1. TEHKARIHOKEN. Elias Lewis, 1878.

Turtle. Abram Lewis,
Second Chief, 1876.

Called also Dehkarihogen ; sometimes written, formerly, as Tekarihogea, and Taicarihogo. Meaning, "Double speech." This Chief is commonly supposed to have precedence of rank over the others, but this is a mistake, probably arising from his name being first on the roll. He is, however, entitled to special respect before all others except Atotarho. He was a War Chief as well as Oyaner. In 1757 the holder of this chiefship was known by the Dutch name of Nikus Hance, *Anglice* Nicholas John. In 1775, the then Chief signs "Johannes." Capt. John Brant, Ahyouwaegs, nominated by his mother, Catharine Brant, wife of Capt. Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, was Tehkarihoken from a date prior to 1812 until 1832, when he died; the successors were William John, also on the nomination of Mrs. Catharine Brant, his grandmother, until his death in 1857; Henry Brant was Regent during the minority of Chief John, who was an infant when appointed; Joseph Lewis, on the nomination of his grandmother, Margaret Powles, until 1866, when he died ; William John Simcoe Kerr, Thayendanehgeh, Barrister-at-Law, nominated by his aunt, Catharine John ; he died in 1875 ; David Lewis, brother of the above Chief Joseph Lewis, nominated by Sarah Lottridge, by whom also, after his death, another brother, the present Chief Elias Lewis, was nominated.

2. AYONWATHA. David Thomas, 1870.

Turtle. Isaac Doxtater, Sr., Second Chief, 1880.

Called also Tayounwatha, or Hiawatha; in Seneca, Hayowentha. The name is "He who seeks, or makes, the wampum belt," and he is reputed to have been the inventor of wampum. The first of this name was the chief promoter of the formation of the confederacy, together with a distinguished Chief named Dekanawidah, who had no successor.

3. SADEKARIWADEH. Peter Powless, 1877.

Turtle. Daniel Doxtater, Second Chief, 1877.

Or, Shatekariwate. "Two equal statements;" or, two concurrent accounts of one thing from different persons.

GROUP II.

4. SAHREHOWANEH. Isaac Davis.

Wolf. No Second Chief at present.

Or, Sharenhowane; in Onondaga, Showenhona. "He is the loftiest tree."

5. DEYONHEHGWEH. John William Martin Elliott.

Wolf. James C. Elliott, Second Chief.

Or, Deyonnhehgonh; or, Teyonhehkwen. "Double life." George Henry Martin Johnson was Chief in 1883; George W. Elliott was prior to the present.

6. ORENREHGOWAH. Isaac Doxtater, Jr., 1887.

Wolf. No Second Chief at present.

Onon., Owehegona. Meaning doubtful; differently explained as "High hill," "Wide branches," and "Large flower,"

GROUP III.

7. DEHHEHNAGARENEH. Joab Martin, 1887.

Bear. George Wehnes Hill, Second Chief, 1888.

Or, Dehennakarine. Onon., Tehennakaihne. "Going with two horns."

8. RASTAWEHSERONDAH. John Fraser, 1877.

Bear. Alexander George Smith, Second Chief, 1874.

Or, Aghstawenserontha. Onon., Hastawensenwa. "Holding the rattles."

9. SOSSKOHAROWANEH. William Staats, 1887.

Bear. William Smith, Second Chief, 1861.

Or, Shosgoharowane. Onon., Shosgohaehna. "He is a great wooddrift."

Oneidas.

GROUP I.

10. ODATSCHEDEH. William Green, 1886.

Wolf. No Second Chief at present.

Or, Odatsehte. Onon., Tatshehte. "Bearing a quiver."

11. KANONGWEYONDOH. Jacob Salem Johnson,

Wolf. Regent, 1893.

Or, Konhgwenyodon; or, Kanogweya; or, Kahnonkwenyah (Oneida). "Setting up ears of corn in a row." This Chiefship, which was held by Henry Clench, became extinct in Canada,* but the Council "raised up" a successor. He has no

* The American revolutionary war occasioned a partial breaking up of some of the nations, and a consequent interruption of the regular succession of Chiefs.

Second Chief. Chief Johnson carries on a considerable business as merchant and miller and is Postmaster at Ohsweken.

12. DEHYONHHAGWEDEH. Nicodemus Porter, 1855.

Wolf. Joseph Porter, Sr., Second Chief, 1860.

Or, Deyohhagwente. Onon., Tyohagwente. "Open voice."

GROUP II.

Shononhsese. Extinct.

Turtle.

14. DWENAOHKENHA. George Peter Hill, 1880.

Turtle. William Captain Hill, Second Chief, 1888.

Or, Daonahrokenagh; or, Odwanaokoha. Onon., Tonaohgena. "Two branches," or "Two branches of water."

15. ATYADONENTHA. Abram Hill Jacket, 1888.

Turtle. Augustus Hill Jacket, Second Chief, 1888.

Onon., Hatyatonnentha. "He lowers himself."

GROUP III.

Dewatahonhtenyonk. Extinct.

Bear.

Kaniyatashayonk. Extinct.

Bear.

18. OWATSHADEHHA. John General, 1851.

Turtle. Archibald Jamieson, Second Chief, 1888.

Or, Onwatsatonhonk. Onon., Onwasjatenwi, "He is buried." Hale names this Chief as of the Bear clan.

Onondagas.

GROUP I.

19. DATHODAHONH. Nicholas Gibson, 1870.

Deer. Philip Hill, Second Chief.

Or, Thatotarho, or, Atotarho. "Entangled." This chief is regarded as entitled to a precedency of respect, but not of power, over all others. Cusick asserts that the Atotarhoes were originally Kings. It seems that the first of the name was an opponent of the formation of the confederacy, and was only persuaded to come into it by being accorded especial prominence and exceptional power, which, however, soon proved to be more nominal than real, and in time ceased altogether. The Chief in Canada has been "raised up" by the Council, the true succession being extinct. Hale names him as of the Bear clan.

20. OHNNEHSAHHEN. Peter John Key, 1878.

Beaver.

Or, Enneserarenh. Onon., Hanesehen. Meaning uncertain, but said to be "The best soil uppermost." This Chief in 1875 was Philip Jones.

21. DEHHATKATONS. Elijah Harris.

Beaver.

Or, Dehatkhathos. Onon., Tehatkahtons. "He is two-sighted," i.e., vigilant. Previous Chief, William Buck.

22. HONYADAGEWAK. David John.

Snipe.

Or, Onyatajiwak; or, Skanyadajiwak. Onon Oyatajiwak. "Bitter throat."

Awekenyade. Extinct.

Ball.

24. DEHHAHYATGWAEH. Johnson Williams, 1848.

Turtle.

Or, Dehadkwarayen. Onon., Tehatkwayen. Meaning unknown, but perhaps "Red wings."

GROUP II.

25. HONONWEYEHDE. David Sky, 1885.

Wolf.

Or, Rononghwireghtonh. Onon., Hononwiehti. "He is sunk out of sight." This Chief was hereditary keeper of the wampum, and as such was called Hotchustanona. Previous Chlef, George Buck.

GROUP III.

26. KOHWANEHSEHDONH. John Jamieson.

Deer.

Or, Kawenenseronton. Onon., Kawenensenton. Meaning, perhaps, "Her voice suspended," or "scattered." Previous Chief, Peter Key, Jr.

27. HAHEHONK. William Echo, 1875.

Deer.

Or, Haghriron. Onon., Hahihon. "Spilled," or "Scattered,"

GROUP IV.

28. HOYONHNYANEH. Joseph Porter, Jr., 1887.

Hawk.

Or, Ronyennyennih. Onon., Honyennyenni. Meaning unknown. The totem is the Small Henhawk. Hale names him of the Eel clan.

29. SOHDEHGWASENH. Levi Jonathan, 1875.

Eel.

Or, Shodakwarashonh. Onon., Shotegwashen. "He is bruised."

30. SAKOKEHHEH. William Peter Buck
Turtle. (retired), 1887.

Or, Shakokenghne.

Raserhaghrhonh. Extinct in Canada.
Turtle.

Onon., Sherhahwi. The last Chief was John Buck, who died 1893.

GROUP V.

32. SKANAWADEH. Gibson Crawford.
Turtle.

Or, Skanawati; or, Scandawati. This Chief was also a War Chief — the only one besides Tekarihoken. The meaning of the name is doubtful. Cusick says "Over the water."

WAKANEHDODEH, or Pinetree. Alexander Hill, 1865.

WAKANEHDODEH, or Pinetree. Isaac Hill, 1865.

Cayugas.

GROUP I.

33. DEHKAEHYONH. Abram Charles, 1863.
Bear. James Webster Sky, Second Chief, 1888.

Or, Tekahenyonk, Onon., Hakaenyonk, or, Akahenyonh. "He looks both ways." Cusick puts this chief in the Onondaga list. Hale names him as of the Deer clan.

34. KAJINONDAWEHHON. Robert David, 1897.
Ball. Franklin David, Second Chief.

Or, Jinontaweraon. Onon., Jinontaweyon. "Coming on its knees." Hale names him as of

the Deer clan. Wilson Fish, who died recently was the previous Chief; Robert David, Dryhyakweh, being Second.

GROUP II.

Katawarasonh. Extinct in Canada.
Bear.
Or, Kadagwaseh. Onon., Katawajik.

36. SHOYONWESE. Austin Hill, 1897.
Bear. Samuel Kick, Second Chief.
Or, Soyonehs. "He has a long wampum belt.

Atyaseronne. Extinct in Canada.
Turtle.
Or, Hadyadrone. Onon., Hatyasenne. Jacob Jamieson was the last Chief, with William Jamieson, Second Chiet.

WAKANEHDODEH, or Pinetree. William Wage.

GROUP III.

38. DYONYONHGO. Joseph Jacobs, 1886.
Wolf. William Hill, Second Chief, 1886.
Or, Teyoronghyonkeh. Onon., Thowenyongo, "It touches the sky."

39. DEHYONDHOWEHGO. Joseph Henry, 1888.
Wolf. Phillip Miller, Second Chief, 1883.
Or, Teyodhoreghkonh. Onon., Tyotowegwi. "Doubly cold."

GROUP IV.

40. DYONWATEHON. William Henry, 1883.
Snipe. John Henry, Second Chief.
Or, Dyonwadon; or, Wathyawenhehetken. Onon., Thaowethon. "Mossy place." The totem

is Prairie Snipe. Hale puts this Chief in the third group, and names him as of the Wolf clan.

Atontaraheha. Extinct.

Snipe.

Onon., Hatontaheha. John Henry was Second Chief, although there was no Head Chief, from 1886 until his death.

42. DESKAHEH. Benjamin Carpenter.

Bear. David General, Second Chief.

Or, Teskahe. Onon., Heskahe. "Resting on it." Hale names this chief as of the Snipe clan. The previous Chief was Samuel C. Hill, Benjamin Carpenter was Second Chief from 1848 until he became Head Chief.

Senecas.

GROUP I.

43. SKANYADAHEHYOH. John Alexander Gibson, 1872.

Turtle. George Key,
Second Chief, 1887.

Or, Skanyadariyo. Onon., Kanyataiyo. "Beautiful lake." The totem is Mud-Turtle. Hale names him as Wolf. Chief Gibson, who is quite blind, is noted as an orator.

44. SADEHKAONHYEAS. Michael Smoke, 1884.

Snipe. No Second Chief at present.

Or, Shadekaronyes; or Sadekowyes. Onon., Shatekaenyes. "Skies of equal length.

GROUPS II. AND III.*

Satyenawat. Extinct.

Snipe.

* There is some confusion here in all lists. These families were much broken up in the American revolutionary war.

Shakenjowane. Extinct.
Hawk.
Onon., Shakenjona.

47. KANOHKYE. David Hill Seneca, 1836.
Turtle. John Hill, Second Chief, 1865.
Or, Kanokarih. Onon., Kanokaehe. "Threatened."

Nisharyenen. Extinct.
Bear or Snipe.
Onon., Onishayenenha.

WAKANEHDODEH. David Vanevery.
or Pinetree.

GROUP IV.

49. KANONKEEDAWE. Johnson Sandy, 1890.
Snipe.
Or, Kanonghkeridawyh. Onon., Kanonkeitawi. "Entangled hair given." Hale names him as of Bear clan in Canada, but Morgan says Snipe.

50. DEYONNEHOHKAWEH. George Gibson, 1887.
Wolf.
Or, Donehogaweh ; or, Teyoninhokarawenh. Onon., Teyoninhokawenh. "Open door." This Chief was anciently the hereditary doorkeeper and as such, according to ancient rule, he should have a Second Chief more particularly than others. The chiefship in the direct succession became extinct, in Canada at least, and the Chiefs "raised up" a successor, but made no provision for a Second Chief.

Tuscaroras.

SAGWARITHRA. Solomon Nash, 1873.
Turtle.

Nehawenaha. Not represented in Canada.
Turtle.

TYOGWAWAKEN. Turtle.	Moses Hill (deceased).
Nakayendenh. Bear. *Dehgwadehha.* Bear. *Nehchanenagon.* Bear.	Not represented in Canada
NAYOHKAWEHHA. Wolf.	William Williams.
Nayonchakden. Wolf.	Not represented in Canada.
KARIHDAWAGEN. Snipe.	Joseph Green, 1886.
Thanadakgwa. Snipe. *Karinyentya.* Beaver. *Nehnokaweh.* Beaver. *Nehkahehwathea.* Beaver.	None of these are in Canada.

Nanticokes.

SAKOKARYES. Wolf.	Josiah Hill, 1873.
RARIHWETYEHA. Wolf.	Richard Hill, 1873.

Delaware.

WITHKUMOORHOOL, Cold Ashes.	Nelles Monture, 1887. Means "New cause

The hereditary names of the Chiefs are very ancient, and several of them are composed of words now obsolete, the meaning of which is doubtful, and in some cases quite unknown. The translations given above are, therefore, in many instances uncertain.

The variations of names mentioned in the list are according to different dialects, and as they occur in various lists or are found mentioned in books. The names first given above are, in most cases, according to the orthography used in the present official list at Ohsweken, as given to the writer by Chief Josiah Hill, but even there it does not seem that such forms are always followed, or can be regarded as fixed.

Honorary Chiefs. No roll is kept of Chiefs of this class. The following are those whose names the writer has been able to obtain :

H.R.H. PRINCE ARTHUR, DUKE OF CONNAUGHT and STRATHEARN, KARAKONDYE (Flying Sun).

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, DEOROUNYATHE (Bright Sky) ; Governor-General of Canada ; Turtle ; Seneca. Visited the Reserve and was adopted 1st October, 1896.

ALLEN CLEGHORN, of Brantford, KARIWIHO (sometimes called KARIHOWANE) ; Bear. Adopted at a Grand Council held on the Brantford Reserve in 1856, and was accorded a special status, pursuant to which he occupied a seat in Council on several occasions, and is still entitled to do so if he thinks proper. The name Kariwiho, properly Kariwiyo, means "good news," or "satisfactory business," either of these being a correct translation* ; Karihowane means "great good news." Mr. Cleghorn was chief promoter and president of the association formed for the erection at Brantford of the Brant Memorial, an undertaking which was successfully accomplished. The memorial cost a little over $20,000, provided for by public and private subscriptions, with a gift of about $2,000 worth of metal (old guns), from the Imperial Government. The sculptor was Percy Wood, of

* Kari is a word of comprehensive signification, meaning news, speech, matter, affair, business, etc.; Wiyo is good, beautiful, satisfactory. Both words frequently occur in the composition of Indian names of places or persons.

London, England, whom the Indians called Rarihwagasdas (a thing that lasts; allusive to his work). Mr. Cleghorn also at his own cost extensively repaired and decorated the interior of the old Mohawk Church near Brantford.

MAJOR HAYTER REED, DAKARIHHONTYE (Flying Messenger). Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs.

ROBERT WILLIAM BARKER, KARIHONTYEH; Bear; late Inspector of Post Offices.

ABSALOM DINGMAN, late of the Indian Department.

REV. ROBERT JAMES ROBERTS, DEYONRONHYATEH; Bear; late Missionary of the New England Company.

DUNCAN MILLIGAN, SAKOYANEHHAWE; Deer; member of the New England Company.

REV. ROBERT CAMERON, DEHORIHWATHEH; Wolf; Missionary.

CAPT. EDWIN DUNCAN CAMERON, DEHASWATATHE, or, DEHASWATDATWA; Bear, Cayuga; Superintendent of the Brantford Reserve.

CAPT. WILLIAM HAMILTON MERRITT, RORONOUNGOWANE (Man of great feathers); Turtle, Cayuga. Grandson of Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, Roronoungowane, an Honorary Chief (Cayuga). Capt. Merritt contested the constituency of Haldimand in the first election after the electoral franchise had been conferred upon the Indians, and, though unsuccessful in other parts of the constituency, obtained a majority of Indian votes.

MAJOR EDWARD MARION CHADWICK, SHAGOTYOHGWISAKS ; Turtle ; Mohawk. Author of "A Genealogy of the Brant Family" (privately printed), and of this work. Major Chadwick in conjunction with Capt. Merritt presented to the Council the sixteen banners of the clan totems referred to in page 85. The name means "One who seeks a gathering of the people," i.e., into bands, and has reference to Major Chadwick's advocacy of the formation of a Six Nations regiment of militia.

Honorary Chiefs who are tribal only and have not as yet been accepted by the Council, and others to whom names have been given by the Indians :

HON. WALTER HUMPHRIES MONTAGUE, M.D., M.P. for Haldimand.

WILLIAM WILSON, RAHRIWANONNEH ; Wolf.

LIEUT.-COL. ROBERT HENRY DAVIS, RAHNEREHAWE ; late commanding 37th Haldimand Rifles.

LIEUT.-COL. ROBERT LOTTRIDGE NELLES, KAHNEDOGONAH (Among the pines, allusive to his being very tall), 37th Haldimand Rifles ; Wolf ; Oneida.

MAJOR WILLIAM GEORGE MUTTON, ROHEHHON (Energetic man); 2nd Queen's Own Rifles, sometime attached to 37th Haldimand Rifles ; Mohawk.

CHARLES BERNHARD HEYD, TAYENDANEHGEH, M.P. for South Brant ; Turtle.

LEVI SECORD, KYEHONHANORONH, M.D., Resident Physician, Brantford Reserve ; Bear.

H. R. FRANK, M.D.

Among former Honorary Chiefs were :

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, WARRAGHIYAGEY, Baronet. Superintendent of the Six Nations up to the commencement of the American revolutionary war, when he died, 11th July, 1774.

HUGH, second DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, THORIGOWEGERI (the evergreen brake, a tree whose leaf falls only as a new one grows, allusive to his possession of a hereditary title), who, as Earl Percy, served in the American revolutionary war.

HUGH, third DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, DEYONHIGHKON (Mohawk); son of the last. The name is apparently a dialectic variation of the Hereditary Chief's name, Deyonheghweh.

COL. JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, DEYONGUHOKRAWEN (one whose door is always open, allusive to his generous hospitality) ; Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 1792 to 1796.

Some officers of Col. Simcoe's staff were also adopted when he visited the Grand River Reserve, 6th March, 1793.

LIEUT., afterwards COL., JAMES FITZGIBBON, THORIEWAYARIE, with whom the Indians fought in 1812.

SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD, K.C.B., Prime Minister of Canada.

LIEUT.-COL. JASPER TOUGH GILKISON, SOJIJOWANEH; Wolf; Superintendent of the Grand River Reserve from 1862 to 1891.

The late ARCHDEACON ABRAM NELLES, Principal of the Mohawk Institute, was named SHADEKAREENHES (two trees of equal height), but the writer has been unable to ascertain whether he was adopted or not.

Women (white) who are Odiyaner* :

MRS. MARGARET PRISCILLA CAMERON, KONWAHENDEKS (a Leader) ; Bear, Cayuga ; mother of Capt. Edwin Duncan Cameron.

MRS. CLARA ALBERTA CAMERON, KAIHWENHAWA (Messenger); Beaver, Onondaga ; wife of Capt. Edwin Duncan Cameron.

MRS. CONVERSE, YEARIHWANONNEH, of New York ; Snipe.

MRS. MARY EMILY ROSE HOLDEN, KARIHWENTHAWI ; Beaver, Onondaga ; member of Wentworth Historical Society.

MRS. MARIA MARTHA CHADWICK, KATIGHJONHAWE, or KAJIJONHAWE (the Bouquet carrier); Deer, Mohawk ; wife of Major Edward Marion Chadwick.

MRS. MAGGIE MERRITT, KANORONHKWA (One who loves) ; Bear, Cayuga ; wife of Capt. William Hamilton Merritt.

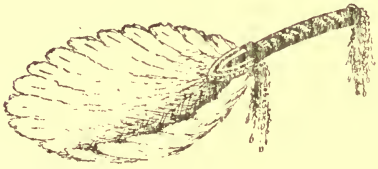
MISS CATHARINE NINA MERRITT, KARIWENHAWE, granddaughter of Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, Roronoungowane, has been adopted by tne Chiefs of the Onondagas, but not presented in Council.

There are a number of ladies who have been, given Indian names, as a compliment or courtesy, by some of the Chiefs or Principal Women,

* The writer was informed by one Indian that white women were not recognized as Odiyaner, but probably in consequence of a misapprehension of the purport of the enquiry, as it has on the other hand been stated to him very positively by a Chief who is well versed in the antiquities of his people, that the wife of an adopted Honorary Chief is regarded as Oyaner.

Oyaner is the feminine equivalent of Royaner ; plural Odiyaner, Rodiyaner.

a list of whom it would be difficult, if possible, to procure. It may not, however, be out of place to mention one very well known on the Brantford Reserve, and to whom the writer is indebted for useful suggestions in connection with the present work, Mrs. Anne Racey Rolph, neice of the late Rev. Adam Elliot, Rector of Tuscarora, and Missionary to the Six Nations for over forty years, who was named Kariwiyoh (Glad tidings), when a child. Her sister also, Mrs. Kate Forbes Kerby, was given the name of Kajijonhawe (Bouquet carrier).



Personal Names. It is commonly supposed that the Indians when conferring a name, compose one at the time with reference to some simultaneous occurrence, or to some special characteristic of the person named. This they do sometimes, and with singular aptness, but they have a stock of names just as whites have, which they give when there is nothing to suggest any special one. It will be observed that three of the ladies just named have the same name of Kariwenhawe, though in each case with a different spelling, representing dialectic variations; it will be noticed that one of these omits the letter R which has become obsolete in the Onondaga dialect. There are two also named Kajijonhawe, a name which was also borne by the late Mrs. Catharine Osborne, daughter of Col. William Johnson Kerr and granddaughter of Capt. Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea.

The name of Thayendanegea was borne not only by the famous Brant but also by a Mississauga, John Jones*, upon whom it is said to have been conferred by him; and also by

*A member of a rather well-known family: son of Augustus Jones (white), surveyor, who married Tuhbenahneeguay, daughter of Wahbanosay, a Chief of the Missisaugas.

Brant's grandson, Chief William John Simcoe Kerr, Tehkarihoken.

An instance is recorded of a prominent Chief transferring to a white man, upon whom he wished to confer exceptional honour, his own name, which his exploits had caused to become one of distinction, and assuming a new name for himself.

In the list of Chiefs the prevalence of Biblical names will be noticed; these are said to have had their origin with the earlier missionaries. It is much to be regretted that names so incongruous and unsuitable, together with many equally objectionable surnames, should have displaced the euphonious names which the Indians bore in their own languages.

A practice prevailed at one time at the Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie, of calling children by the name of their father as a surname: thus the children of the Chief who originated that institution were known by his name, Shingwauk. The family of the well known Mohawk, Dr. Oronhyatekha, use that name as a surname. Such examples might well be followed more generally.

Several families on the Brantford Reserve have surnames of Dutch origin, such as Claus, Staats, Powless, originally Paulus, in which latter form the name is sometimes written in the registers of the old Mohawk Church, and others. Brant, is also said to be Dutch, equivalent to the English Barnet, or Bernard. These names, no doubt, indicate descent from ancestors who lived near the Dutch settlements in the State of New York.

Among surnames in use on the Reserve there is a remarkable preponderance of the name Hill, which appears in the official list to the number of 313, while the Martins, the next numerous, only muster 132, closely followed by 122 Greens. The name Johnson has 104 representatives, Claus 82, Staats 59, Garlow 52, after which come the Smiths, with, for them, the quite insignificant number of 40.

In rendering Indian names into English, any name which has been frequently mentioned is apt to appear in a great variety of forms. In a prefatory note mention is made of a town in the State of New York, the Indian name of which occurs written in eighty different forms.

Another instance may be referred to—the name Sakayengwaraton (translated "Vanishing Smoke," or "Disappearing Mist," but perhaps properly meaning the haze of Indian summer), which having been borne by at least three noted Chiefs at different times in the last and present century,* is mentioned by various writers and in historical papers, with twenty-four variations of spelling. Dividing the word into three parts, the first occurs in fourteen variations, the second twelve, and the third fourteen, making the name, composed of its parts as actually written, capable of being put in 2,352 different forms; furthermore, if the letters representing the pronunciation were subjected to the changes of which they are capable, in accordancc with usual treatment of Indian names, the number of ways in which this one name may be written is simply incredible.

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* The last of these was Chief John Smoke Johnson, whose second name was intended as an English equivalent of his Indian name. He was father of the late Chief George Henry Martin Johnson, and grandfather of the poetess Miss Emily Pauline Johnson.

A former Chief who bore the name led the Indians at the action at Wyoming in the American revolutionary war, when Butler, with a body of Rangers and Indians, defeated an American military force.

The New England Company.

An account of the Six Nations would scarcely be considered complete without reference being made to the "Company for Propagacion of the Gospell in New England and the parts adjacent, in America," commonly called the New England Company, which was first established by Act of Parliament in 1649, and was further constituted by Royal Charter, 14th Charles II., 1661. This Company in 1822 transferred its operations to Canada, where its chief work has been carried on at the Brantford Reserve, especially the well-known Mohawk Institute, near Brantford, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Old Mohawk Church, built in 1782; and it has also carried on two Churches, at Tuscarora and Kanyuugeh. Besides the Institute, the Company has established several schools on the Reserve, which are now managed by a Board representing the Company, the Council, and other interests, and in which the teachers are Indians, trained in the Institute.

The first Missionary of the Company on the

Grand River Reserve was Rev. William Hough, who was succeeded by Rev. Robert Lugger in 1827, who was joined in 1831 by Rev. Abram Nelles, who subsequently became Incumbent of the Old Mohawk Church, and was principal of the Mohawk Institute from 1837 to 1872; he became Archdeacon of Brant in 1878, and died in 1884. Cotemporary with him for many years was Rev. Adam Elliot, Incumbent of Tuscarora, and he had as assistant Rev. Robert Grant, 1860. Rev. Adam Elliot was succeeded in the incumbency of Tuscarora by Rev. James Chance, 1876 to 1878. The Church was taken down and re-erected in a new position in 1883. The Rev. Albert Anthony, an Indian, was assistant to Mr. Elliot and his successor for many years. The Rev. Isaac Bearfoot, also an Indian, Incumbent of Caledonia, is a resident on the Reserve.

The Incumbents of Kanyungeh, or Kanyenga, as it is sometimes written, have been as follows: Rev. Robert James Roberts, 1862 to 1871; Mr. Roberts secured funds for the erection of the Church, a handsome gothic building of white brick, and a suitable parsonage; Rev. James

Chance, 1871 to 1878; Rev. Isaac Barr, 1878 to 1881; Rev. Charles Denton Martin, 1881 to 1883; Rev. David Johnstone Caswell, 1883 to 1891; and from the last date, Rev. James Leonard Strong, the present Incumbent.

The Rev. Abram Nelles was succeeded at the Mohawk Institute in 1872 by the Rev. Robert Ashton, the present Principal, under whose very able management it has become a model institution.

Besides their work at the Brantford Reserve, the New England Company have missions at Rice Lake and at Chemong Lake, near Peterborough, Garden River, near Sault Ste. Marie, and on Kuper Island in British Columbia.

Appendix.

Extracts from Stone's "Life of Brant," illustrating procedure in Council in former times, and the manner of addresses; also the use of wampum.

(See Ante pp. 49, 75 and 76.)

A DEPUTATION from the Six Nations and the "Seven Nations of Canada" (the Caughnawagas), having returned from a Great Council meeting of many nations held at the Miami, a Council was convened to hear their report—intended not only for their own people, but for the information of the British and American Superintendents, Colonel Butler and General Chapin. The Council-fire was kindled on the 8th of October (1793). The procedure, it will be seen, was characteristic and striking. The belts, pictures and emblems used by the several nations, represented in the Grand Council at the Miami Rapids, were forwarded to the Six Nations by the hands of their deputies, and after the Council had been regularly opened these were produced and the speeches with which their delivery had been accompanied, were repeated, in the form of a report, with incidental explanations.

All things being ready, the proceedings were commenced by Clear-Sky, a Chief of the Onondagas, who spoke as follows:

"BROTHERS: We thank the Great Spirit for our happy meeting, that he has preserved us through all difficulties, dangers and sickness, and given us an opportunity of meeting together at this place."

The ceremony of condolence for the loss of friends since the last Council, having been regularly performed and reciprocated by all the tribes present, and also by the Superintendents, the business of the Council was resumed by a Chief known as The Farmer's Brother, who delivered the speech of the Shanawese, Delawares and Twithuays, as follows:

"BROTHERS: Colonel Butler and General Chapin: we wish you to attend* the Shawanese and other nations of Indians. We thank the Six Nations for their attention. We were glad to see them at the Great Council-fire which has been kindled some time at the Rapids of the Miami."

"BROTHERS: You are acquainted with the friendship that once subsisted between you and our fathers, and the reason that the present fire is kindled is to renew that friendship.

"BROTHERS: We mentioned this to you last fall at a Council at the Glaize and we now repeat it to put you in mind of that friendship which once subsisted between you and our wise forefathers.

[*A belt of white wampum was here presented, made in a circular form, representing their place of meeting, as in the centre, and crossed by four stripes of black wampum representing all their Confederates, East, West, North and South.*]

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* The word "attend" is no doubt used because of its similarity in form, in place of the Mohawk Yattondek, Hear.

"BROTHERS: The ancient Confederacy which subsisted between us and the Five Nations was that if any of the Five Nations were in distress we would take them to us; we now see that you are in distress; that you are surrounded by water, and have not any land to stand upon; that a large white beast stands with open mouth on the other side, ready to destroy you. We have dry land for you to stand on; and we now take you by the hand, and invite you to come and bring your beds, and sit down with us."

[*Belt of seven rows of black and white wampum.*]

The warriors here joined with the Chiefs, and repeated the ancient agreement, recommended a union of all the different nations, and asked them to follow what was recommended by the Chiefs.

Puck-on-che-luh, Head Warrior of the Delawares, then spoke:

"BROTHERS: I call you my uncles, and all the other Indians my grandchildren. Them I have already united and bound together, and I now bind you all together with this string."

[*A large bunch of black wampum.*]

The Sachems of the Delawares then spoke:

"BROTHERS: You have heard the speech of the Chief Warriors. We join with them and are glad to hear they have bound all their grandchildren together, and that they have spoken with great respect to their uncles and recommended to them to be of one mind."

[*A large bunch of black wampum.*]

Then followed farther speeches, accompanied by presentation of wampum.

PART of a speech of condolence, delivered at the opening of a Council in 1761, by Seneca George :

"BROTHERS : We suppose that in the late troubles you may have lost many of your people, either by sickness or war since we were last together ; by this string, therefore, we wipe away the tears from your eyes, clear your throats, wash away the blood from your bodies, sweep the council chamber, and throw the dirt out of doors, that you may see and speak to us clearly at the present conference. [*A string.*]

"BROTHERS : We are sorry from the bottom of our hearts for the death of your men, women and children, and by this belt we collect all their bones together, bury them in one grave, and cover them up. [*A black belt eight rows streaked with white.*]

"BROTHERS : We are at great loss and sit in darkness as well as you by the death of Conrad Weiser (an interpreter), as since his death we cannot so well understand each other. By this belt we cover his body with bark. [*A white belt of seven rows with four black streaks.*]

"BROTHERS : By the last belt I mentioned to you that we both sat in darkness. Now, by this belt I remove the clouds from before the sun, that we may see it rise and set, and that your hearts may be eased from sorrow on account of what I mentioned before. [*Delivered a white belt of five rows with three black bars.*] We pray the Great God above, who can enlighten our hearts, that we may live in love and peace until death."

SPEECH of Capt. Brant, on the 24th of February, 1801, at Fort George (Niagara), of condolence to Capt. William Claus, Deputy Superintendent, on the death of Mrs. Claus, his mother:

"BROTHER: We are here now met in the presence of the Spirit above, with intent to keep up the ancient custom of condolement. We therefore, condole with you for your late loss of our well beloved sister, whom now you have interred.

"BROTHER: We hope that this may not damp your heart so much as to make you forget us, who are your brothers—not only ourselves but our wives and children.

"BROTHER: We say now again, that by our late loss it seems our fire is somewhat extinguished. But we have now found a few brands remaining, and have collected them together and have raised a straight smoke to the clouds.

"BROTHER: We, therefore, with this string of wampum, wipe away the tears from your eyes, and would take away all sorrow from your heart.

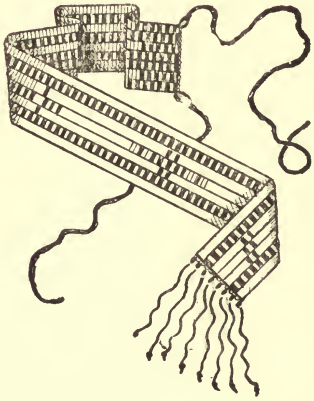
"BROTHER: We say again with this string of wampum, as you seem to be all in darkness, we with the same string enlighten the skies above us, so that it may appear to us all as it formerly used to do.

"BROTHER: We say again, with this string of wampum, as we have now made our speech of condolement, we hope to raise you upon your feet, as you formerly used to be; for since our late loss, it seems you have been confined as one absent. (Alluding to the fact of Capt. Claus having been so much affected by the death of his mother, as to have remained in retirement).

"BROTHER: We hope you will not forget our calamities—hoping that this shock may not put us out of your memory entirely—and also that you may continue to help us, as you formerly used to do.

"BROTHER: This last string which now I give you, is given by the whole Six Nations so as to strengthen your mind and body—that you may not be too much cast down by the occasion of our late loss."

This speech was followed by an address from the women, delivered by a Sachem speaking for them.



REMARKS ON THE INDIAN CHARACTER.

Remarks on the Indian Character.

[*A Paper read by the Writer at a Meeting of the Canadian Institute, and printed in this work in accordance with suggestions of several friends.*]

THE Indian as a subject of which so many have written, has been in this respect at a great disadvantage, and has been treated with much injustice, because, firstly, his history has, for the most part, been written by his enemies; secondly, most writers have formed their impressions from tribes which have become deteriorated by contact with unscrupulous whites, diminished by intemperance and the diseases which have ever marked the advance of civilization, impoverished by the destruction of their accustomed means of subsistence, and disheartened and dispirited by the change in their circumstances; and lastly, because it has been a common practice to gauge the Indian

by European standards. This last, however, may be regarded as an unintentional but very marked tribute to the innate merits of the Indian, for other uncivilized people have been described either without reference to other conditions than those in which the writers have happened to find them, or by comparison with people of similar circumstances.

Catlin, who spent several years visiting the various Indian nations as existing about sixty years ago, and principally those who had come but little into contact with the whites, sums up his opinion of the character of the Indian by pronouncing him to be in his native state an honest, hospitable, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless,—yet honourable, contemplative and religious being. I will take this opinion as the basis of my remarks, and consider each of those characteristics in order.

Honest. Until taught by the whites to steal and to lie, honesty and truthfulness were the most marked traits of the Indian character. "Honest to the most scrupulous degree in their intercourse with the

white men," is the record written many years ago of one tribe, and it may well be quoted as fairly descriptive of the race. Except in warfare, no Indian would think for a moment of possessing himself of the property of another unless openly and by legitimate means. No wigwam was fastened, but when its inhabitants went out the door remained open and all the owner's possessions remained within just as if he or his family were present. Locks and keys and all such things were utterly unknown. Indians have been known to suffer extreme privation rather than touch food close at hand but which belonged to others. Even at the present day among civilized Indians locks and keys are but little used. In passing through the Six Nations Reserve one may frequently see a house with the door closed and the broom standing beside it, this being a well known indication that there is no person at home, and being generally, also, understood to signify that though the door is closed it is not fastened. It has been said that this custom of having the dwelling with its contents unsecured and unguarded had its origin in the fact of there

never being anything in an Indian Lodge worth taking. But this is quite a mistake. The Indians frequently had, and many of those in the Northwest still possess, many things of considerable value, as anyone who has a knowledge of what are called Indian curios can testify. Among the Indians in their natural state a liar was regarded with contempt, and practically ostracised, if indeed he was permitted to live. There is at least one well-known instance of an Indian brought from the far west by the American Government to see the wonders of civilization, and, on returning to his tribe and describing what he saw—wigwam large enough to hold a thousand people, and canoes manned by a hundred warriors, and so on—being disbelieved and put to death as unfit to live. I have been informed that the Indians of settled tribes, or some of them, at least, have a doubtful reputation for veracity, a manifest result of the white man's teaching. Yet they have an innate respect for truthfulness. Those who have to deal officially with the Indians well know how careful they must be in all they say. If a statement of fact is made in good faith but

which turns out to be a mistake, or if a promise is made which fails to be performed, the person who thus spoke too confidently will find it difficult to preserve the respect of the Indians.

Hospitable. An Indian was always ready to divide his last ration with another, or to admit a traveller to the shelter of his tent, and this I believe to be still characteristic of both the civilized and the uncivilized. Among some tribes, at least, if not universally, it was formerly the custom for a pot containing food to be always in position over the fire, and all persons of whatsoever degree, and whether friends or enemies, were at liberty to come in unbidden and help themselves. The hospitality which the Indian felt it to be his duty to give, he naturally assumed to be his right to receive, a circumstance which has frequently caused annoyance, and sometimes even terror, to new settlers ignorant of native customs and unable to understand the Indian habit of entering their houses at all hours and expecting to have food given to them, or taking it, perhaps, without asking leave.

Faithful. When an Indian entered into an engagement his faithful performance of it could always be anticipated. It was a common practice with traders to furnish goods to Indians on long credit, relying for their only security on the certainty of the stipulated skins being brought in in due time. The faithfulness of the Indians to treaty obligations is almost proverbial. A most notable instance of such fidelity is the Iroquois Confederacy, formed by treaty among five nations, previously hostile, nearly four hundred and fifty years ago, which has never been broken. I know of some white people who might learn a wholesome lesson from these untutored sons of the forest in making and observing treaties. Hale refers to an instance of a Chief of the Onondagas, sent on an embassy to the Hurons, committing suicide from mortification and a sense of lost honour when difficulties arose in consequence of which his engagements were repudiated by the Iroquois.

Brave. The bravery of the Indian it is, perhaps, unnecessary to remark upon, for it has been the theme of a thousand writers, in history and fiction, poetry and prose.

Warlike. A state of war may almost be described as the normal condition of Indians in their native state, where every man was a warrior, and no man could be considered as properly dressed without arms.

Cruel. This characteristic is one of which volumes have been written and nearly always to the discredit of the Indian. I have already observed that in describing the Indian character and customs, writers have been prone to measure the Red man by a comparison with his white brother, and in considering the important item of cruelty, I will accept this method of judgment. Man is by nature cruel whether he is white, red, brown or black, and all the more so if he has not had the teachings of Christianity. I think this will hardly be disputed. But I will draw the comparison within closer limits, and will contrast the uncivilized, unchristianized Indian, in his native state, with civilized, professing Christian whites. The cruel practices of the Indians towards their captives, which is, perhaps, the heaviest indictment which may be

brought against them, consisted in torturing in various ways. For my present purpose it will be sufficient to leave unnoticed the reasons in which such practices, doubtless, had their origin, and consider them only as facts to be admitted without attempting either explanation or apology. But while Indians, knowing no better, have been torturing their victims, what have the white men been doing? How many supposed witches have been drowned or burned to death in England? How many people have been burned to death for holding opinions in religious matters different from those of their executioners? How many years is it since the torturing of criminals, or supposed criminals, in prisons, was the subject of enquiry by a Parliamentary committee? How many years is it since the statutes of England ceased to enact that persons convicted of high treason should be punished by being hanged, drawn and quartered—a refinement of cruelty which, considering the class of persons affected by it, almost surpasses anything which the Indians have devised. A few examples of dealings of white men with the Indians may be not out

of place on this point. Parkman tells of Frontenac burning an Indian prisoner alive. He also speaks of an officer in charge of a post attempting to introduce smallpox among the Indians as an easy means of effecting their conquest. Another writer gives an account of a white trapper, who happened to miss some of his traps, taking an oath that he would kill the first Indian he should meet, innocent or guilty, (there being no suggestion of Indians being responsible for the disappearance of the traps); later in the day he saw two Indians seated on a river bank fishing, when he deliberately shot one of them and flung his body into the river. The party to which this man belonged, on another occasion, when about to cross a river, saw a party of Indians on the opposite side, when they promptly shot down twenty-five of them without any reason whatever, except that they imagined that they might be hostile. The account of this affair states that the Indians fled when thus attacked, and rather seems to imply that they were unarmed. In a recent English publication I noticed an account given upon the authority of a Captain Bourke, of the

United States army, describing how an American military force surprised and destroyed a village of the Cheyennes in Wyoming Territory. He says "The onslaught was irresistible, the destruction complete, and the discomfited savages were forced to flee from their beds half naked. The cold was so intense that on the following night eleven papooses froze to death in their mother's arms." Here we seem to have the true "Massacre of Wyoming," rather than that of the poet Campbell, which was mostly, if not wholly, fiction. Although the history of Indian wars, and incidents of border warfare in time of peace, have been written by the Whites, and we have no narrative from an Indian point of view, there is abundant record of facts which plainly shew that, on the whole, there has been but little to choose between cruelties committed on both sides. The acts of the Whites bear a striking likeness to those of the Indians, but with this difference, that the Indian acted from natural, untutored instinct, while the Whites knew better how man should deal with his fellowman. Prisoners taken by the Indians

were not always tortured or put to death, nor was their condition always so deplorable as has been usually supposed. At the conclusion of Pontiac's War, when the Indians made their submission they were required to deliver up all Whites in their possession. Many of these people were most reluctant to leave the bands with whom they had lived, and many pathetic instances occurred of the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, and persons who had been adopted and had become attached to their adopted relations. Many of these so-called prisoners afterwards found their way back to their Indian friends.*

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* French historians have stigmatised the Iroquois as ferocious and bloodthirsty, while American historians have gone much farther in accusing them of every description of atrocity. Of the latter it is now known that some statements put forth were false. Some things which actually were done by the Iroquois in the American revolutionary war may not have been quite in accordance with modern ideas of warfare, but they were according to the practices of that time as frequently used by Whites, and for long after, as witness the burning of Niagara by the Americans under circumstances of extreme cruelty to the women and children who were its chief inhabitants, and that wantonly, and for no military advantage. Here again, we draw a comparison between Indians following the natural instinct of uncivilized man and the Whites who knew better. And the comparison may be extended further, for, while the Americans at Niagara burnt and desecrated the church, the Indians when, in retaliation for raids upon them with fire and sword, burnt Palatine in the Mohawk Valley, they destroyed every house (except that of a Mr. Nelles, whom they knew and respected), but left the church untouched, and it stands there to the present day, a witness to the true Indian method of such warfare. Another circumstance in the same connection may be referred to. When the Americans, under Sullivan, devastated the Iroquois country, the Indians being unable to withstand so formidable a force as was brought against them, were driven from their homes, losing their possessions and barely escaping with their lives, but they brought away with them the Bible,

Revengeful. Relentless. In this respect, also, the Indian has no record which may not be paralleled by white men; as, for example, the vendetta which prevailed so long in Italian social life, and has scarcely yet ceased to exist. When we consider the circumstances in which the Indians have been placed from age to age, we can hardly be surprised that men of spirit and courage have struck back vigorously when first assailed, as has been so often the case, wantonly and without reason or just cause. The first acquaintance of the Iroquois with the French was an unexpected and unprovoked attack made upon them by the French, with whom they had no quarrel. This was under Champlain in person in 1609. Even white people would have sought opportunity of revenge for such an attack; but when the Indians did so they were promptly branded by the French as bloodthirsty savages, and subsequent historians have followed the example thus set. Indian

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communion vessels and bell of the Mohawk church, the carrying of the latter alone, in retreat through a wilderness, being rather a notable feat. And when they settled in Canada almost their first act was to build a church, in which these things were placed.

revenge was, in fact, nothing but the application, according to their uneducated ideas and opportunities, of the Roman lex talionis. It was simply inflicting the only punishment in their power for wrong done to them. Catlin mentions his being advised in one of his journeys to be cautious when in the neighbourhood of a certain band of Indians who were pronounced dangerous. When he passed near their village he found them celebrating the taking of the scalps of two white men. On enquiry it appeared that these men had been slain in reprisal for the treatment accorded to two of the tribe, who had been captured by white men and burned to death because the Whites had lost some horses and assumed that they had been taken by Indians. One can hardly refuse to admit the justice of such revenge, if it had not fallen upon innocent persons; but, as to that, it must be remembered that Indians regarded all white men as a class, or as one people, and imagined that an injury to one of them was felt by all, just as an injury to one of themselves was felt by the whole band.

Honourable. Of the qualities of honesty and faithfulness I have already spoken, and will, under this head, merely observe that whatever cruelty or evil has been, either truly or falsely, attributed to the Indians, they have never, so far as I am aware, been accused of illtreatment of women captives.

Contemplative. The Indian is usually described as morose and taciturn. But these qualities are not natural—they are rather acquired—and who would not be morose and taciturn in the face of the evils which the white man has brought upon the Indian? The friendliness and hospitality with which the first discoverers were received in different places on this continent was repaid with murder and aggression, and the reprisals which naturally ensued were made an excuse for a policy of extermination. Lands have been taken from their original possessors by violence and fraud, and whole nations have been exterminated, while others, who were not such easy victims, have been driven from their lands

and forced to settle in less favoured localities. They have been defrauded, cheated, plundered, poisoned with fire water, slain in thousands by the introduction of diseases unknown to them in their native condition; their women have been abused; and by every means which the wickedness of unscrupulous men could devise, they have been taught to look forwards to extinction as their only possible future. No wonder if the semi-civilized Indian has lost much of the handsome features and manly form, the proud bearing, the cleanliness of habit and elegant costume which marked those who had had but little intercourse with the Whites. No wonder if he has become disheartened, lazy, slovenly in habit, corrupt in morals, addicted to intemperance, an easy victim to disease, suspicious, untruthful, and everything else which is so freely laid to his charge, and is so entirely contrary to his former condition. The wonder is that there are so many of them who have, with a more or less degree of success, resisted the deteriorating influences and retained sufficient of worth to give good promise for their future.

Religious. Let me quote a witness on this point, writing of a nation far west and in a primitive condition. He says: "Simply to call these people religious would convey but a faint idea of the deep line of piety and devotion which pervades the whole of their conduct Their honesty is immaculate and their purity of purpose, and their observance of the rites of their religion, are most uniform and remarkable. They are certainly more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages." I am quite aware that this statement will be received with incredulity, but I write it down as I find it.

Where the unscrupulous trader, or other white tempter, does not exercise a baneful influence, the work of the Missionary among the Indians presents no such difficulties as in other missionary fields. Although some Indians had but a vague idea of one Great Spirit ruling the universe, it seems to be a correct general statement that the Indian believes in the true God, and worships no other. The legends, of which some nations have preserved very many by oral tradition, are not of an idolatrous character, nor

are their mythical heroes divinities, as they have been represented to be by some writers, but are rather akin to such heroes of our own folk-lore as Jack the Giant Killer, and many others. I do not refer to such legends as show unmistakeable reminiscences of the fall of man and the deluge, though in these there is more of the fairy tale than there is of the exhibition of the Divine power.

The Indians have been sometimes accused, or I should rather say suspected, of something akin to idolatry because of the veneration which they seem to bear towards their totems and "medicines," or mysteries; but the regard for these things is but little different from the superstition which nails a horseshoe over the door, banishes a peacock's feather, or forbids the sitting of thirteen at a dinner table. The Indian peoples the air, the water, the rocks and the forests with imaginary spirits, but he is not alone in that respect; for example, I have myself, in Ireland, seen people of ordinary intelligence become uneasy in the neighbourhood of a fairy ring, and have known people who firmly believed in the existence of individual ghosts.

Visitors to the Great Council of the Six Nations are received with a little address which consists partly of an expression of thanks to the Great Spirit for having enabled them to escape the dangers of travel and to accomplish their journey in safety. To any one who has made the journey in a Pullman car, with a pleasant drive over a good road from the nearest railway station, this is apt to seem making very much of very little; but it will not appear so when it is explained that the formula is the survival of a custom regularly observed for centuries, and had reference to times when a lengthy journey through a wilderness and, perhaps, within dangerous proximity to an enemy, was even to an Indian a formidable affair.* In any case, however, I think the custom may be aptly quoted as evidence on the point under discussion.

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* This expression of thanks to the Great Spirit, which has been already noted in the text, ante p. 48, as the invariable custom, and still observed, was, is fact, an act of worship; and here, if no where else in the world, we find Christians and pagans meeting year by year upon common ground and joining in a united act of worship, according to ritual composed long prior to the introduction of Christianity among them, without the least sense of incongruity or impropriety. This fact may be worthy of the attention of those who make a study of Indian religions and mythologies.

Morality. Having now considered the different qualities of the Indian character enumerated by Catlin, I pass on to note some others which deserve attention. The Indians get little credit for morality. But whose fault is that? I do not hesitate to say that the white man is responsible for such immoral practices as may be found to prevail among the Indians. In their native state some tribes practiced polygamy, but as a recognized institution and without any sense of impropriety; the custom being, indeed, formed on necessity, for frequent warfare constantly thinned the ranks of the men until they were greatly outnumbered by the women, tribes sometimes having two or three times as many women as men. No woman in a community situated as the Indians were could live alone—old maids were a practical impossibility—there were but two alternatives, marriage or starvation. The marriage customs of the Indians have been, and still are, perhaps, the most serious difficulty in the way of their being brought into a fully civilized condition. Marriage was a very simple affair,

entered into with little ceremony, and it was not necessarily a union for life, but might be dissolved at will. The result was that many things were done which the untutored and unchristianed Indian did not know to be improper. But what of the Whites who did know better? So far from trying to teach the Indians better things, Whites have taken advantage of the existence of such loose marriage customs to impose upon the Indians the curse of immorality; and it is not only such people as low class traders and coureurs de bois, but too often men of good, and sometimes even high, social position upon whom rests this terrible responsibility. Even among Indians such as the Six Nations, well advanced in civilization, the teaching of the Missionaries with regard to marriage has been constantly thwarted by evil Whites, so that unions and separations occur which the Indian, thus evilly mis-taught, does not seem to realize to be immoral, for to him they do not seem to be very different from the customs of his ancestors.

Courtesy. A natural courtesy is a marked characteristic of the Indians in their native state, and one which they frequently retain even when their circumstances have caused other good qualities to partly or wholly disappear. Catlin constantly speaks of individual Indians whom he has met as "gentlemen," without putting any forced meaning into the expression, but using it as ordinarily descriptive. When among tribes who had been exposed to the baneful influences too often attendant upon semi-civilization he used the term with much less frequency, without any apparent intention of drawing a distinction. No matter how great a stranger to the manners and customs of civilized refinement the Indian may be, he never loses his self-possession or exhibits a feeling of awkwardness and inferiority in the presence of others of more cultivated manners, as an ordinary white person is apt to do when in unaccustomed company. While readily acknowledging the superiority of the Whites in education and acquired intelligence and the like, he has no feeling of social inferiority.

He draws no social distinction between himself and his chiefs, or between himself and the Whites of any class. An Indian visiting a white man's house will come to the front door, and will, unless especially taught to do otherwise, enter without knocking, such being the custom of Indian etiquette and hospitality.

Slothfulness. Indian idleness appears to me to be an acquired habit resulting from the despondency caused by decline from pristine independence and prosperity, and from the dependence upon others which inevitably accompanies the stage of transition from wild to settled life. In his natural state the Indian was of energetic habit, ever alert, ready to spring in a moment into activity, spending his time in war or the chase, and in manly pastimes, or in an endless variety of "dances," chiefly of a ceremonial character. So far from being indolent he was rather a restless being, ever engaged in some occupation or other requiring skill and endurance.

Status of Women.

We are accustomed to the common picture of the haughty brave, stalking along in front, while his wife meekly follows bearing the family burden, which among us it would be the man's part to carry; but there is much in heredity, and we must recollect that this custom has had its origin in the necessities of olden time when the brave necessarily led the way, unencumbered with anything but his arms, prepared to be the first to meet with danger which might at any moment appear. When a camp moved it was the part of the women to do all the manual labour involved, for the same reason; it was their part to organize and constitute the train, while it was the part of the men to act as its armed escort. The fate of a band in motion being suddenly attacked, while those who should be its escort and defenders were engaged otherwise, may be easily imagined. In the case of scattered families in wooded countries where subsistence depended upon forest hunting, the actual existence of the family depended upon the safety of life and

limb of the men, and for this reason it was important that he should be free from other duties. The custom was, in fact, a division of labour between the men and women, each taking that part best suited to his or her capabilities, and most for the general advantage of the whole people. If the drudgery fell to the lot of the women, it by no means followed that they occupied such a place of inferiority to the man as, to our ideas, that would seem to imply. Even to the present day, among the Six Nations, at least, if not others, the selection of the successor to a hereditary chiefship rests with the senior woman of the family of the deceased chief, who names either one of her own sons or grandsons, or one of those of her sister, as the successor. The descent of nobility (for there is in theory among the Six Nations what may be called a noble class as distinguished from others), is traced in the female line, so that it is a descendant of the chief's mother or sister who succeeds him on his death and never his own son.*

* The women of some tribes had a very fair share of political power. The purchase of Indian lands and conveyance by the "Chiefs, Warriors and Principal Women, etc.," mentioned in foot-note ante p. 23, is but one instance of many such documents.

Intelligence. The well-known oratorical ability of the Indians is good evidence of the intellectual power which they undoubtedly have possessed. Many of them have exhibited much skill in statecraft, of which a notable instance was the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy, a union so skillfully designed and established that it has stood without interruption the test of over four centuries of continuance, a form of government admirably adapted to the circumstances of the Indian Nations, and well calculated to insure to those adopting it an opportunity of advancing in prosperity and even in the direction of civilization.

The marvellous skill of Indians in woodcraft may be passed over without special mention as similar powers have been possessed by other people much their inferior in other respects. Notwithstanding his unsettled life, the Indian has displayed considerable ingenuity in such arts as have been necessary or suitable for his condition, such as the manufacture of weapons, canoes, clothing, tents, and many other things. And in such arts he has by no

means confined himself to mere utility, but has ornamented his manufactures with a considerable degree of artistic skill.

Management of the Indians.

In estimating and judging the Indian character, sufficient attention has not, I think, been given to the great difference in the experience of our government and that of the United States. The latter has, either by its own acts or by those of its agents grossly maltreated the Indians by fraud, dishonesty and violence to the extent of barbarity, a thousand times, and in every form displayed,* and they have reaped their reward in a constant state of more or less hostility, resulting in appalling loss of life and a vast expenditure of money; one Indian war alone, that of the Seminoles of Florida, was officially reported, after having continued for four years, and not then concluded, to have cost $36,000,000 and the lives of 1,200 to 1,400 people, soldiers and others.†

* A changed state of affairs seems now to be coming about; due, no doubt, to the influence of Bishop Whipple.

† An interesting relic of this war is in the possession of the writer,—a pair of armlets of woven bead work, which belonged to Osceola, the Great Warrior of the Seminoles, who was captured by the Americans and died a prisoner in 1838.

The Government of Canada, on the other hand, has accorded to the Indians a treatment generally just and humane, and consequently has retained their respect and an immunity from Indian wars, of which none has ever occurred, unless we except the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, when the insurgents succeeded in persuading a few bands to join in their outbreak. The Canadian Government can certainly count upon the steady loyalty of the more civilized of the Indians, and a continuance of their policy will, no doubt, secure the remainder as loyal subjects and citizens as they become more and more accustomed to the inevitable change from unsettled life to civilization. We owe something to the Indians in this respect for they rendered most important service in the war of 1812. Catlin says that when travelling among some tribes near British territory in the west, he was taken to be a Canadian, and found his reception as such to be better than it would have been otherwise. A little incident which he mentions is worth repeating: An old Chief showed him a George III. medal

which he always carried on his breast under his clothes, and which was brightly polished, and desired him when he returned to British territory to tell his "Great Father" that he "kept his face bright." On being told that the great father whose medal he wore was dead, and that the Great Chief of the British was now a young woman, he retired to contemplate so extraordinary a state of affairs and to discuss it with his friends, but after a little returned to Catlin and desired him to tell his "Great Mother" that he "kept his Great Father's face bright." A more recent affair may be referred to as showing how the Indian character is affected by the different methods of treatment. The Sioux Chief Sitting Bull was a very thorn in the side of the American Government, but when he brought his band into Canada he was a man of peace, and not only observed the laws himself but took care that his people should do so too. It is impossible not to regret that he should have been induced to re-cross the border, where he soon met the fate which he himself foretold when he bluntly told the Americans who first

came to treat for his return, that he knew well that no promise which their Government made to his people would be respected. A still more recent instance is almost ludicrous. A band of Canadian Sioux, of whom two men had committed some misdeed for which they were "wanted" by the police, crossed the border and presently became the subject of some diplomatic correspondence, ending in an arrangement for their return. At the time appointed for this to be carried out the band arrived at the frontier under the escort of two companies of American Infantry marching with fixed bayonets. They were met by an officer of the Northwest Mounted Police who, on being asked by the American officer where was the military force by which the Indians were to be taken in charge, replied that he was there for that purpose and had two constables with him; and these three received the band, and having first put the two delinquents under arrest, marched the whole party off to their Reserve. The astonishment and mortification of the American officer may well be imagined. Such instances may show how readily the

Indian will respect the law which respects him, and is honestly administered.

While the policy of our Government has ever been wise and commendable and has been generally honestly carried out by the executive agents and officers, I cannot but think that in one respect a grave mistake has been commonly made by those charged with duties bringing them into immediate contact with the Indians—both officials and others, and perhaps especially Missionaries,—whose methods are apt to be unduly patronizing. The Indian is, in many respects, childlike, knowing that the white man's knowledge is superior to his, and, therefore, when his tutelage begins he enters into a relation as regards the Whites similar to that of pupil and teacher. This condition is one of much difficulty, requiring management with tact and skill such as few people are able to exercise. If the Indian were treated as a friend and equal rather than as a pupil or dependent, I believe his advancement would be more certain and speedy. Individual cases of Indians revolting, and perhaps with little or no apparent reason, from the guidance or control

of agents or Missionaries will, no doubt, occur in the experiences of such people, without their perceiving that a certain amount of fault may lie with themselves. I do not wish to be understood as unduly criticising either agent or Missionary, for in Canada I am convinced that our Indian agents, as a class, are men competent and well worthy of the great trust and responsibility imposed upon them, as I certainly know some of them to be; and for the Missionaries I have the highest respect, believing that upon the faithful performance of their duties, more than anything else, depends the future welfare of the Indian as a civilized citizen. But even Missionaries are human, and sometimes make mistakes, and they have many serious difficulties to contend with, for not only have they to overcome such as necessarily arise from the character of the Indians and the customs and circumstances of their former life, but they have also to fight the devil incarnate in the persons of evil and unscrupulous Whites, who for their own gain or gratification do not hesitate to bring moral and physical ruin upon the Indian.

It is to me a matter of much regret that in the process of bringing the Indian into civilization, there has been an effort to make him forget his past history and customs. Much of the history of many Indian nations is by no means a thing to be wiped out of memory, and though some of their customs must necessarily be disused as being inconsistent with both Christianity and civilization, the romantic and picturesque which ever attended the life of the Red men and surrounded them with a charm which has produced abundant material for writers of fiction and poetry, is surely worthy of preservation, and, in my judgment, should be no more a hindrance to their advancement than somewhat similar conditions have been in the case of the Highlanders of Scotland. I am convinced that an Indian who holds the memory of his forefathers in respect and looks back with honest pride upon the antiquities of his nation, and is permitted to do so, will make a better citizen than one who is taught, as is evidently too often the case, to consider all such things as contemptible and to be put aside and buried in

the past. Among the Six Nations those who are disposed to keep alive their traditions and such of their ancient customs as are not unsuited to their present manner of life, are often subjected to a kind of mild social ostracism. I venture to believe that to be a great mistake, and, for my part, would regard an Indian who had the courage to appear in buckskin and feathers, without being paid for doing so, as excellent material from which a valuable citizen might be made if judiciously treated. The system which is followed I believe, with all due deference to those who have more experience than I have, to be calculated to make such men and women useless members of society, and thus indirectly to lower the general social and moral tone of the people. A loyalist at heart if injudiciously treated may be made a rebel in act.

Conclusion. While the Indian has been plentifully abused, vilified and misrepresented, he has had comparatively few apologists, for reasons which I have already pointed out. In order to add what little I

may to the voice of the latter is my object in preparing this paper, for from a perusal of many works referring directly or indirectly to the Indians, and from what I have been able to learn by personal observation and enquiry, I am convinced that he is naturally a splendid specimen of humanity, and that if civilization had been brought to him in an honest and honourable manner, his history would have been far different from what it has been, and his position now among nations far different from what it is. I do not claim that the Indian has no faults; in his natural state he, undoubtedly, had faults; it would have been extraordinary if it had been otherwise; but the most of the defects which now appear in his character are acquired.

Since writing the above I have obtained a copy of the blue book, recently issued, containing the annual report of Indian affairs. From a careful perusal of a considerable part of this bulky volume and a more cursory examination of the remainder, I find my impressions of the Indians more fully confirmed than I would

have expected from official reports dealing with Indians in various stages of settled life. The progress towards civilization of those bands which have only of recent years been collected in Reserves, is most remarkable. Upon page after page the Indians are pronounced law-abiding, honest, religious (though more or less the latter according to their opportunities), and generally moral, in which respect several reports draw a comparison between the Indians and the Whites, in some instances claiming a superiority for the Red men. There are, as might be expected, exceptions here and there, but where this is the case the cause nearly always appears, either by plain statement or indirectly—the proximity of the unscrupulous class of Whites.

Index.

[*The Names of Chiefs on the Roll are not indexed, but only those mentioned elsewhere in the Text.*]

PAGE.

Aberdeen, Earl of 47, 98
Adirondacks 13, 14
" Name 29
Adoption 6, 48, 59
Aganuschioni, name 26
Agniers, name 32
Alberta, Iroquois in 24, 25
Algonquins 15
American Revolutionary War 19
" War of 1812 21
Andastes . . , ... 16
Anne, Queen, Gifts of 18, 129
Anthony, Rev. A. 109
Annuities 24
Arms 62
Armlets 73
Arts, etc. 143
Ashton, Rev. R. 110
Atotarho, Chief 38, 90
Attiwondaronks 14
Ayounwatha, Chief 13, 87

Barker, R. W. 99
Barr, Rev. I. 110
Beadwork 69, 74

PAGE.
Bearfoot, Rev. I. 109
Beaverdams, Action at 21
Belt 69
Blanket 71
Brant, Capt. John 42, 44, 53
" " Joseph 20, 42
" Memorial 78, 98
Breechcloth 70
Brethren, Four 50
Butler, Col. John 53

Cameron, Mrs. C. A. 102
" Capt. E. D. 53, 99
" Mrs. M. P. 102
" Rev. R. 99
Canada, Invasion of 17
" Name 19
" Settlement in 20
Canastogas 16
Canyinkers, Name 32
Canyengeh, Name 32
Castles 29
Caswell, Rev. D. J. 110
Catawbas 16
Caughnawaga Band 19
" Reserve 18, 24, 25
Cayugas, Chiefs of 92
" " Names of 30
Chadwick, E. M. 100
" Mrs. M. M. 102
Chambly, Attack on 17
Champlain's Attack 14
Chance, Rev. J. 109, 110
Chaouanons 16
Character, The Indian 119
Cherokees 16

PAGE

Chiefs 33, 34
" Death Customs 52, 75
" Dress of 78
" Head 34
" Hereditary 34
" Honorary 46, 98
" Insignia of 67, 69
" Nomination of 34, 35
" Pinetree 42
" Raising up of, After Extinction . . 33, 38
" Regent 41
" Roll of 86
" Second 40
" War 43
" Warrior 40
Church, Old Mohawk 99
" Kanyungeh 109
" Tuscarora 108
Clans 82
Claus, Capt. Wm. 53
Cleghorn, A. 98
Clench, Capt. and Chiefs 45
Coat 68
Condolence, Ceremony of 35
Confederacy 13, 32
Connaught, Duke of 98
Converse, Mrs. 102
Costume 65
Council 48
" Grand 53
" Mode of proceeding in 51, 111
" Tribal 52
Courcelles' Invasion 15
Courtesy 81, 139
Covenant Chain, Dutch 14
" " English 15, 56

PAGE.

Cruelty 125

Dances 80
Datotarho, Chief 38, 90
Davis, Lieut.-Col. R. H. 100
Debate in Council, Mode of 51
De la Barre's Invasion 16
Delaware Reserve 21, 24, 25
Delawares 16
" Chiefs of 33, 96
Denonville's Invasion 17
Descent, Laws of 34, 37, 58
De Tracy's Invasion 15
Deyonnehohkaweh, Chief 33,38
Dingman, A. 99
Divorce 58
Doorkeepers 27, 39
Dress 65
" Customs in 78
Dutch, Settlement of 14
Dwelling 26, 80

Eating, Customs in 81
" Eaters of Men." 31
Edmonton Reserve 24, 25
Elliot, Rev. A. 103, 109
Eliott, Lieut. J. W. M. 45
Embroidery 74
England, Visit of Chiefs to 18
English, Settlement of 15
Eries 15

Father Nations 50
Feathers Worn 65, 73
Fidelity 55, 124
Fire Bag 71

PAGE.

Firekeepers 27
Fitzgibbon, Col. 21, 101
Five Nations 13
Food, Customs respecting 81
Fortifications 29
Four Brethern 50
"Frame Poles" 28
Frank, Dr. H. R. 100
French, Wars with 14, 15, 16, 17
Frontenac, Invasion by 17
" (Kingston), Attack on 17
Funeral Customs 52, 75, 76
Funds Invested 24

Ganyingoes, Name 32
Gilkison, Lt.-Col. 53, 101
Givens, Col. James 53
Goyogouin, Name 30
Grand Council 53
Grand River Reserve 23
" " Settlement 20
Great Council 48
Great Warrior 33

Hair Ornaments 73
Head Chiefs 34
Headdress 65, 72
Hereditary Chiefs 34
Heyd, C. B. 100
Hiawatha, Chief 14, 87
Highland Dress 70
History 13
Hodenosaunee 26
Holden, Mrs. 102
Honeenhonetoh, Name 30
Honesty 55, 56, 120

PAGE.

Honinhohonta, Name 30
Honorary Chiefs 46, 98
Horns of a Chief 67
Hospitality, ... 81, 123
Hough, Rev. W. 109
House, Iroquois 80
Hurons 15

Illinois 16
Immorality 55, 56, 137
Income from Invested Funds 24
Inheritance 58
Iroquois, Name 28

Jacobs, Chief 44
Johnson, Chief Jacob S. 76
" Sir John 53
" Chief John Smoke 45, 107
" Miss Pauline 72, 107
" Sir William 101

Kahnawaga 19
Kanienga, Name 32
Kanogweya, Chief 45
Kanogweyondoh, Chief 38
Kanonsionni 26
Kanyungeh, Church 109
" Name 32
Kayanerenhkowa 30
Kayukwa,-en, Name 30
Kerby, Mrs. K. F. 103
Kerr, Robert 45
" Walter 45
" Capt. (Col.) W. J. 44
Key, John 19
Kilt 69

PAGE.
Lacrosse, Game of 72
Land tenure 57
Laws of Six Nations 54, 57
League 13, 32
Leggings 70
Lodge 80
Longhouse 26, 52
Lord Chiefs 34

Macdonald, Sir J. A. 101
McKee, Col. Alex. 53
Makwa 31
Management of Indians 144
Manslaughter 54
Manufacturers 143
Marrage 58, 137
Martin, Rev. C. D. 110
Medals 73
Mengwe, Name 30
Merritt, Miss C. N. 78, 102
" Mrs. M. 102
" Capt. W. H. 99
Miamis 16
Michel's Reserve 24, 25
Milligan, D. 99
Mingoes, Name 30
Minsi 16
Mississaugas 21
Mississipi, Six Nations on 23
Moccasins 71
Mohawk Institute 108, 110
Mohawks, Chiefs of 86
" Names of 31
Montague, Hon. W. H. 100
Montreal, Attack on 17
" Original home at 13

PAGE.

Morality 55, 56, 137
Mowawog, Name 31
Murder 54
Muskoka, Iroquois in 25
Mutton, Major 45, 100

Names of Nations 28
" Personal 104
" Pronunciation of 10
Nanticokes 16, 19
" Chiefs of 33, 96
Nations, Relationship of 50
Necklace 73
Nelles, Archdeacon 101, 109
" Lt.-Col. 45, 100
Neutral Nation 14
New England Company 108
" Nations 16
New York, Six Nations in 26
Niha (ti) rontakowa, Name 31
Nihatientakona, Name 31
Noble women 39
Nomination of Chiefs 34, 35
Nondewa, Name 30
Northumberland, Dukes of 101
Norton, Capt. 44
Numbers of the People 22

Odiyaner 39, 100, 102
Ogdensburg, Settlement at 18
Ojebwas 21
Oka Band 25
Old Mohawk Church 98, 108, 130
Oneidas 21, 25
" Chiefs of 88
" Names of 31

PAGE.

Oneyote, Name 31
Onguehonwe, Name 28
Onnontagué, Name 31
Onondagas, Chiefs of 90
" Names of 31
Onontewa, Name 30
Ornaments 73, 74
Osceola 144
Oswegatchie, Settlement at 18
Ottawas 16
Oyaner 39, 100, 102

Pinetree Chiefs 42
Pipes 71
Piquè, Abbe 18
Plaid 71
Population of Nations 22
Pouches 71
Prisoners of War 59, 132
Pronunciation of Names 9

Queenston, Battle of 21
Quinte, Bay of, Reserve 20, 24

Rebellion of 1837 43
Reed, Hayter 99
Regent Chiefs 41
Relationship of Nations 50
Religion 134
Reserves 22
Roberts, Rev. R. J. 99, 109
Rodiyaner 34, 100, 102
Rolph, Mrs. Anne R. 103
Ron (an) inhohonti, Name 30
Rotinonsionni 28
Royaner 34, 100, 102

PAGE.

Sachems 41
Sagosaanagechte, Name 31
St. Regis Reserve 19, 24, 25
Sakayengwaraton 45, 107
Sakosennakehte, Name 31
Sash 69
Satanas 16
Scalp 68
Second Chiefs 40
Secord, L. 100
Seminole War 144
Senecas, Chiefs of 94
" Names of 30
" Second Chiefs of. 15
" War Chief of 39
Senhnokete, Name 31
Seven Nations of Canada 19
Shaounons 16
Shawnees 16
Simcoe, Lieut.-Gov. 101
Sitting Bull 146
Six Nations Formed 18
Skanawadeh, Chief 39
Sonontowa,-ne, Name 30
So(ti)nonawen-ta,-tona, Name 30
Sonosowa, Chief. 39
Speakers in Council 51
Strong, Rev. J. L. 110
Sullivan's Invasion 20, 129
Superintendents 50, 53
Superstitions 135
Surnames 105
Susquehannocks 16

Tatotarho, Chief 38, 90
Tawanears, Chief 39

PAGE.

Tayounwatha, Chief 13, 87
Tehadirihoken, Name 32
Tehkarihoken, Chief. 39, 86
Thames Reserve 21, 24, 25
Thaowanyaths, Chief 39
Theft 55
Thorburn, David 53
Tionontates 29
Tobacco Nation 29
Totems 32, 82, 83
Tsonontouans, Name. 30
Tuscarora Church 108
Tuscaroras, Chiefs of 33, 95
" Reception of 18
Tutaloes 19
Twightwies 16
Tyogwawaken, Chief 36

Unamis 16
United Empire Loyalists 20
Upper Canada, Conquest of 16
" " Settlement in 20

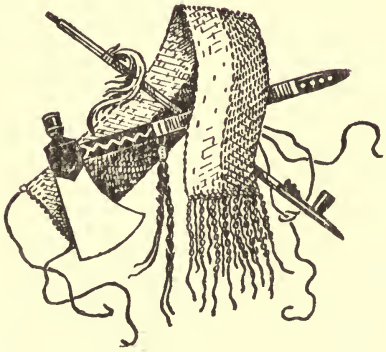
Vaudreuil's Invasion 17
Villages 82

Wakanehdodeh Chiefs 42
Wales, Prince of 77
Wampum 55, 72, 111
" Historical Belts 76
War Chiefs 43
" Cry 80
" Customs 60, 75
" Dance 80
Warrior Chiefs 40
" Great 43

PAGE.

Watha Reserve 24, 25
Weapons 62
Wilson, W. 100
Winnett, Major 53
Wisconsin, Six Nations in 23
Women, Adoption of (honorary) 48
" Dress of 72
" Right of Property 57
" Status of 141
Wyoming 107, 128

Yangenge, Name 32



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